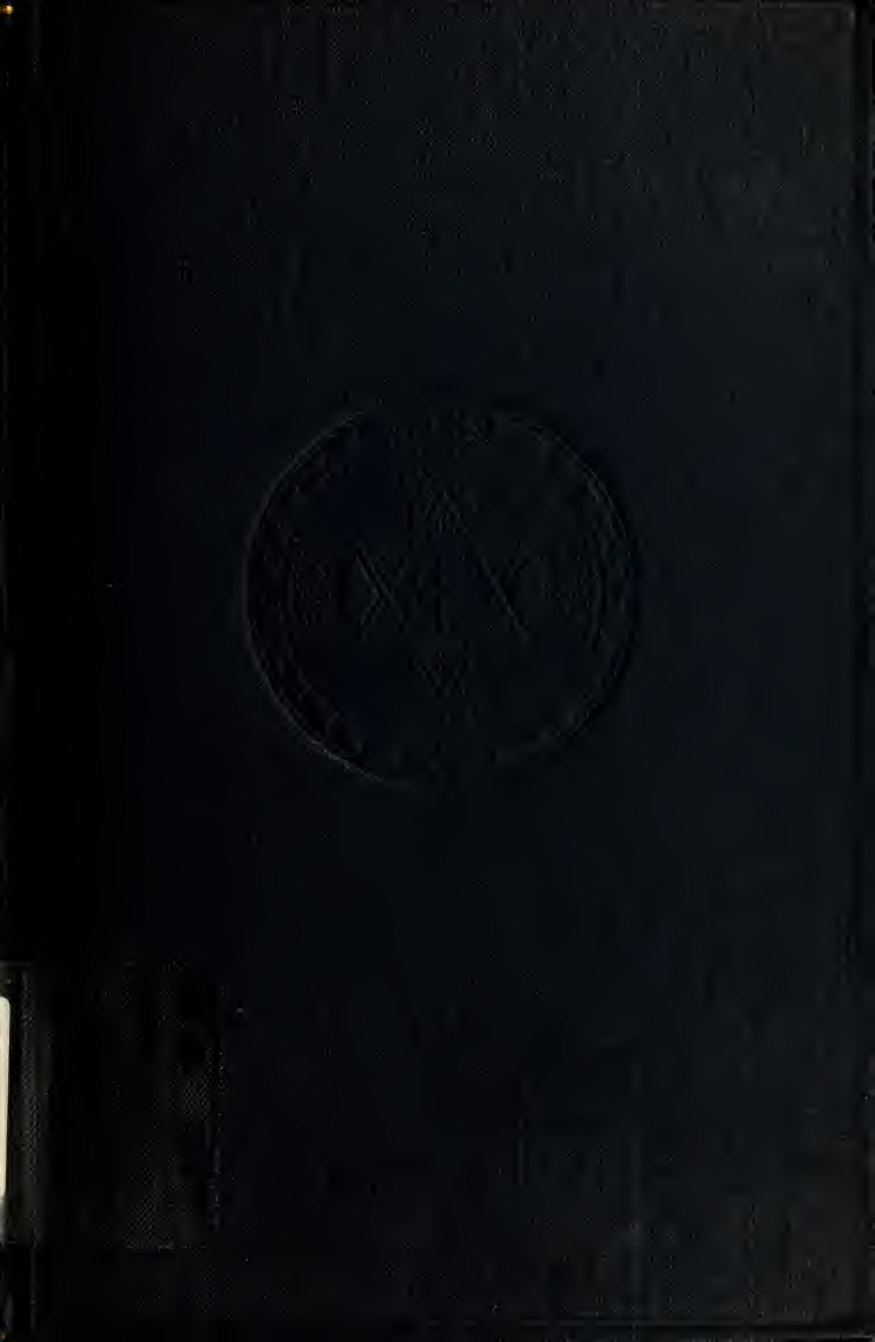

Handbooks of Catholic Faith and Practice

EDITED BY W. J. SPARROW SIMPSON, D.D.

REUNION

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By

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PREFACE

THIS book contains the substance of four lectures given to the S. Paul's Lecture Society in the crypt of S. Paul's Cathedral, in February, 1915. One of them has appeared in the *English Church Review*. To the Editor and publishers of that magazine I return my thanks for permission to reprint the article.

Lectures have a form of their own, and that form, I hope, will account for the way in which this story is told. My aim has been to set out the facts in order as clearly as I could, and then let them speak for themselves. Mr. Russell had accepted the dedication of this book some weeks before his death. I can now only dedicate it to his memory.

S. L. O.

BAINTON, *Lent*, 1919.

REUNION

CHAPTER I

REUNION WITH THE ROMAN CHURCH

THE story of the attempts at Reunion would be worth telling if only for two reasons. The first is that those attempts spring from the highest motive which can actuate the Christian man, the passionate desire to carry out the known will of the Lord Jesus Christ; consequently, some of the noblest and most religious characters in the history of the last three hundred and fifty years are woven into the story. Secondly, the story is fired all through with the light of an adventure and the glow of a romance; the aim is so high, yet its attainment is so difficult. But all through the little band of peacemakers is never beaten; though it is defeated from generation to generation and in century after century, it never loses heart, and so

although the record may sound, perhaps, like a catalogue of failures, to-day the splendid resolution and the high hopes appear not only as splendid and as strong as ever, but also they are seen to be becoming not the possession or the hobby of some little group of specially Christian thinkers, but the high possession and the inspiration of an ever-growing body of Christian men.

Those are reasons which make this story worth the telling. It is a splendid record of Christian resolution and of Christian hope. Another reason is a lower one. The story has never been told with any attempt at fullness. References to parts of it can be found in this book and in that; but the whole story as it concerns us in the English Church has never been pieced together, so far as I know, in anything like a complete form. So this short record is pieced together in the hope that it may kindle or rekindle in all of us something of that great longing for the unity of Christendom which every one who bears the Christian name should know and strive for in his day.

First of all comes the story of the attempts which have been made to reunite the English Church with the great Apostolic See of the West

and those millions of Catholic Christians who are in communion with its Bishop, that body which we are accustomed to speak of as the Church of Rome, or the Roman Catholics. It is hardly necessary to say that we of the English Church owe our organization and almost our existence to the see of Rome. To say that is not to undervalue the great work done for Christ in England by the splendid Celtic missionaries who owed no allegiance to Rome. It is quite true that in the seventh century, when England was practically heathen, Northumbria and the Midlands, and even Essex and London itself, owed their knowledge of the Faith in great measure to them. But when all is said and done, it was the missionaries from Rome, Augustine in the first generation, and Archbishop Theodore in the third, who consolidated and organized the English Church. From the Synod of Whitby in 664, when the conversion was almost complete, the English Church was formed and shaped by Roman and not by the Celtic ideals, and was in full communion with the see of Rome. For centuries Englishmen recognized that debt. They spoke of the great Pope who had sent S. Augustine as "Gregory our father who sent us Baptism." And

roughly for the first thousand years of its life the Church of England was in full communion, like all other Christians in the West, with the Roman see.

The precise relations of the English Church with Rome can be found in any good Church history; the fact which concerns us now is that towards the end of the reign of King Henry VIII those relations were broken.

The causes of that breach, again, are a little wide of the subject. They were several, and they were serious; the question of the King's marriage with Anne Boleyn was neither the most important nor the most serious of them. It was not until after Anne Boleyn had been divorced and dead and buried two years that the most serious breach of all took place in 1538, when Paul III deposed the King and declared England to be under an interdict, i.e. cut off from the Catholic Church. Matters had gone very far before then, and men had been executed for refusing to give up belief in the rights of the Roman see; but the breach actually and formally began with the Bull of Paul III in 1538. The thing that is specially to be noted is that few people at the time supposed that such a breach would be permanent. Something of

the same sort had happened just over three centuries before, when John had defied the Pope, Innocent III, and England had been cut off from unity. That breach had been healed within a few years ; and so had far wider breaches which had at one time and another separated France and the Empire (i.e. Germany) from Rome. And, in fact, Henry VIII himself, so Bishop Stephen Gardiner said (and he was in his confidence and knew), was twice on the point of making up the quarrel. But it was not made up, and at Henry's death in 1547 the English Church as a national Church was out of communion with Rome and with the rest of Western Christendom. The reign of Edward VI widened the breach, for theological differences came in ; but in 1554, in the second year of Queen Mary, the breach was solemnly healed, and the English Church formally returned to communion with the see of Rome. Five years later, in the first year of Queen Elizabeth, in 1559, the breach opened again, when the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity became law. During the next ten years that breach seemed capable of being closed. By the very Act of Supremacy itself it was laid down that the English Church accepted among its standards

of Faith, "the first four General Councils"; and by the fourth of these (Chalcedon A.D. 451, canon 28) the Bishop of Rome was recognized as having a primacy among Christian Bishops. The Act of Uniformity had introduced Edward VI's second Prayer-book with some significant alterations, and the old Latin services had been abolished, but English diplomatic agents abroad asserted that the Pope would accept the Service-book if Elizabeth would acknowledge his supremacy. Indeed, up to 1570 a settlement seemed possible. The Spanish Ambassador in 1562, Bishop Alvarez de Quadra, defended the adherents of the Pope for attending the services of the English Church: he said that those services contained no impiety nor false doctrine. But politics were uppermost, not religion; and in 1570 the Pope, Paul V, excommunicated the Queen and absolved her subjects from their allegiance, and soon the very name of Rome became linked with the ideas of treason and assassination. Practically, it is from 1570 that the story for us begins. The school uppermost in the English Church was that of a modified Calvinism, and the Calvinist seriously believed that Rome was the Harlot of the Revelation, drunk with the

blood of saints, with whom there could be no thought of reunion. How deeply that notion affected the English mind we in our day are hardly aware. It took a firm root, and even so recently as forty years ago, that most acute observer, Mr. B. Jowett, the famous Master of Balliol, asserted that hatred of Rome was by far the strongest passion in the English mind, stronger even than love of freedom. The Calvinist notion was due, as every one now admits, to a false interpretation of the New Testament. And in the English Church the Calvinistic dominion was in time overthrown. by the rise of the school of Richard Hooker and the great divines who followed him. The political fear of Rome as the ally of Spain passed with the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588, and men began to write and to reason in a truer light and in a calmer air. The greatest name of the new school is that of Launcelot Andrewes, Bishop successively of Chichester, of Ely, and of Winchester. Andrewes was born in London, in the year 1555, and he entered Holy Orders in 1580. His influence dates from his appointment to the prebendal stall of S. Pancras in S. Paul's Cathedral in 1589, and lasted till his death in 1626.

Andrewes was the most saintly as well as one of the most able of the men who led the reaction from Calvinism in the English Church. He took a considerable part in controversy with Roman Catholics both in England and abroad, and he remains one of the clearest and best defenders of the position of the English Church in that long controversy; but while he worked and contended for truth, Andrewes prayed regularly and earnestly for reunion both with East and West.[1]

"O may the heart and soul of them that believe be one," he prayed each Sunday morning; and each Monday morning

"for the Church Catholic,
its confirmation and increase.
Eastern,
its deliverance and union.
Western,
its readjustment and pacification."[2]

That temper was common to the great school of English Churchmen who followed Bishop Andrewes, the theologians who are sometimes called the Caroline divines. Among them, after Andrewes, the greatest name is that of Arch-

[1] *Preces Privatæ*, ed. Brightman, pp. 48, 60.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 60.

bishop William Laud. Laud took his share, and no contemptible share, in the Roman controversy.[1] Like Andrewes, he believed wholeheartedly in the English Church, and sealed his belief with his blood; but he was well aware of the evil of a divided Christendom, and eager, if he could, to end it. Laud became Archbishop of Canterbury in 1633, and the moment seemed favourable for such an attempt; and so we come to the first definite suggestion of a reunion between Canterbury and Rome. Archbishop Laud was not himself concerned in it, but other Churchmen were, and it is the first considerable landmark on this path of peace. The facts are these.

The English Roman Catholics were forbidden by the Pope to take the oath of allegiance drawn up by the Government. But both the Pope (Urban VIII) and the English government were anxious to arrange the difficulty, and an agent was sent by Rome to the English Court in 1632. This was a certain Dom Leander a Sancto Martino (Dr. John Jones), who had been at school with Juxon and at Oxford with Laud. In 1634 he was

[1] Cf. his *Controversy with Fisher* in 1622, published 1639.

succeeded by an Italian Oratorian, Panzani,[1] who was in England until 1636, and was most eager to bring about reunion if he could.[2] He had discussions on the subject of reunion with Sir Francis Windebank, one of the two Secretaries of State, in which that statesman said: "'If we had neither Jesuits nor Puritans in England, I am confident an union might easily be effected.' 'As for the Jesuits,' answered Panzani, 'though they have always been regarded as a learned body, and very serviceable to the church of Rome, yet it is not improbable but his holiness would sacrifice their interest on the prospect of so fair an acquisition.' This answer, as it was unexpected, so did it seem to please the Secretary much"[3]; and at a later interview Windebank stated that "concerning an union . . . all the moderate men in Church and State thirsted after it."[4] More important were the conversations on reunion between Panzani and the Bishop of

[1] *Memoirs of Panzani*, ed. J. Berington, Lond., 1813, p. 163.

[2] As to reunion generally in Panzani, see ed. quoted, pp. 164, 171, 173, 174, 186–9, 194, 200, 232 *seq.*

[3] Berington, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 164.

Chichester, Dr. Richard Montagu.[1] Montagu was a scholar and a historian, and he had written one of the most famous pieces in defence of the Catholicity of the English Church, and of his learning and good faith there can be no doubt. Archbishop Laud himself described him as "a very good scholar and a right honest man."[2] Montagu, if Panzani's *Memoirs* are to be trusted, told Panzani that he had himself frequently made "reunion the subject of his most serious thoughts and had diligently considered all the requisites of it," and he added "that he was satisfied that both the archbishops with the bishop of London and several others of the episcopal order, besides a great number of the learned inferior clergy, were ready to fall in with the Church of Rome as to a supremacy *purely spiritual.*" The Bishop proceeded to other points, and suggested (and it is interesting to notice that his suggestion was revived in our

[1] On Montagu, see art. in *D.N.B.* (*s.v.* "Montague, Richard"), by Archdeacon W. H. Hutton. On Panzani's *Memoirs*, see S. R. Gardiner, *Hist. of Eng.*, viii. 138–9, 143, and vii. 130 *seq.* Also *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Rep. IX. App., and Archdeacon Hutton, *Life of Laud*, ed. 1, pp. 153, 154.

[2] *Berington*, p. 238.

own day)[1] that a conference should be held in France, wherein "moderate men . . . on both sides" should draw up the differences in as small a compass as they could, and confer about them. The Bishop had two further interviews with the envoy; at one he assured him that only three of the diocesan Bishops were "violently bent against the Church of Rome,"[2] viz. Morton (Durham), Davenant (Salisbury), and Hall (Exeter). Another Bishop, ardently zealous of a union, was less satisfactory, Dr. Goodman, Bishop of Gloucester; but enough has been said to show the real desire for reunion which was at work among many English Churchmen. The English Roman Catholic secular clergy were by no means wholly opposed to it, and in 1633, the year before Panzani arrived, a very learned English Franciscan, Dr. Christopher Davenport (called in religion Father Francis á Santa Clara), had written a book on the Thirty-Nine Articles,[3] in which he considered those which, while not orthodox from the Roman

[1] See *Leo XIII and Anglican Orders*, by Lord Halifax, p. 10.

[2] *Berington*, p. 246.

[3] It was reprinted, with notes, by Dr. F. G. Lee, London, 1865.

view, were yet "patient but not ambitious" of a satisfactory interpretation.[1] He further defended the sufficiency of the Ordinal, and held English Ordinations to be valid. This book was greatly disliked by the Jesuits; but though it was viewed with considerable suspicion at Rome, yet it was never condemned there, partly, perhaps, because the writer was a chaplain to Queen Henrietta Maria and protected by the King. The deepening difficulties of King Charles's Government, and the steady opposition of the Jesuits, the withdrawal of Panzani, and the death of Montagu in 1641, hindered these projects from going further, and when the Civil War broke out in 1642 all hope of them was extinguished for a generation. But they remain on record as a witness of a real desire to heal the breach between the two Churches.

The next period opens with the return of Charles II in 1660. The King was anxious to grant complete toleration to Roman Catholics in England, and it seems that on his own account he made direct though secret efforts for a reunion of the Churches. In 1663 some remarkable

[1] For Father Sancta Clara, see *D.N.B.*, *s.v.* venport, Christopher.

terms for this were drawn up.[1] Accepting the decrees of the Council of Trent, the Church of England was to remain very much a National Church, under the Archbishop of Canterbury as Patriarch of the three kingdoms, only a few rights being reserved to the Roman see. Existing Bishops were to remain, but they were to be re-consecrated by three legates specially appointed. The King was to nominate to all bishoprics, and existing rights over Church property were to be respected. Communion was to be in both kinds to those who wished it; the service was to be in Latin, with English hymns; married clergy were to retain their wives; celibacy was to be introduced later; and some Religious Orders were to be revived. There was to be complete toleration for all forms of Protestants. "It is not clear," says Ranke, "how far the King was privy to this scheme"; but a very similar set of terms was to be presented in his name to the Pope in 1672.[2] These designs were unknown, it may be safely asserted, to the English Bishops and clergy; the later project was connected with the Treaty of Dover in

[1] For these, see Ranke, *Hist. of England*, iii. 450.

[2] For them, see Wickham Legg, *Eng. Ch. Life*, 1660–1833, p. 406.

1670, by which the King declared his belief in the truth of the Roman Catholic religion. It was what would be called to-day an attempt to found a Uniat Church. The suspicion that some such secret negotiations were on foot inflamed the Protestantism of the mob, and undoubtedly led to the madness of the so-called Popish Plot in 1678, when the lives of so many innocent Roman Catholics were sacrificed.

These last negotiations were shady and suspicious and political in their origin, but there is a certain amount of evidence to show that throughout this period the hope of bringing about a reunion by a fair discussion of differences was very widely shared. Perhaps the most impressive witness to it is that of Dr. Heylyn, the friend and chaplain of Archbishop Laud. Heylyn died in 1662, and his book *Cyprianus Anglicus*, a life of the Archbishop, was not printed till 1668; but in the Introduction (pp. 39, 40) he discusses the question of reunion with Rome. Naming various points at issue, he says, "In many of which it might be found no difficult matter to atone the differences, whensoever it shall please God to commit the managing of them to moderate and prudent men, who prefer truth before opinion, and peace before the prevalency

of their several parties. But whether it be so in all, is a harder question, and will remain a question to the end of the world, unless all parties lay aside their private interest, and conscientiously resolve to yield as much to one another as may stand with Piety. And then what reason can there be why the breaches in the walls of *Jerusalem* should not be made up? and being made up, why *Jerusalem* should not be restored to its former Honour of being *a City at unity within itself*?" Dr. Buck, a Royal Chaplain, told Lady Warner that "there was no difference between the Church of England and the Church of Rome but what might easily be reconciled, and that there was no dispute about fundamental points of faith."[1] And he asserted that, conversing with the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Sheldon, on the subject, the Archbishop had replied, "Doctor, I am of your opinion." There is a sermon by a Royal Chaplain, the famous Joseph Glanvill, in 1669, "Catholic Charity Recommended,"[2] urging that differences be-

[1] Scarisbrick, *The Life of the Lady Warner*, ed. 1696, p. 35, quoted by Wickham Legg, *op. cit.*, pp. 407–8.

[2] Wickham Legg, *loc. cit.* Joseph Glanvill (1636–1680), was Rector of Bath and Prebendary of Worcester (see his *Remains*, by A. Horneck, 1681).

tween Christians are small; and in 1680 the authorities at Oxford printed a treatise written some fifty years earlier *Catholico-Romanus Pacificus* ("The Peaceful Roman Catholic"), the work of John Barnes, an English Benedictine, "with a view to clearing up the misunderstanding between the two Communions."[1] Aarnes's work was greatly disliked, it may be added, by the Benedictines, who asserted that he "minced" the Catholic truths so that the Protestants might digest them without choking, and so likewise "prepared" the Protestant errors that Catholic stomachs might not loathe them.[2] There are fleeting rumours at this time of a project for reunion, not very definite.[3] There was, for instance, a Roman Catholic pamphlet in 1671, *A Peaceful Method for the Reuniting Catholics and Protestants in Matters of Faith*;[4] and even in 1688, when the indignation against James II and his Roman Catholic advisers was at its height, Dr. Thomas Smith (1638–1710),

[1] Wickham Legg, *op. cit.* p. 409.

[2] Dom. B. Weldon, quoted in *D.N.B.*, *s.v.* Barnes, John. Dom. Barnes died in 1661.

[3] See Samuel Johnson's *The Church of England, etc.*, 1710, quoted by Wickham Legg, *op. cit.*, p. 409.

[4] Quoted by Wickham Legg, pp. 409, 410.

a Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, who had been expelled from his Fellowship by the Roman Catholic President, could publish a book on reunion, in which he said, "O happy, O blessed, O glorious day, in which all these confusions, which no good man can think of without great disorder of mind, shall be removed, and all who worship the same crucified Saviour shall unite in brotherly love, charity, and communion!" [1]

The reign and acts of James II (1685–1688) might well have been supposed to quench such hopes, yet they were alive in the next decade, for in 1699 a Low Church pamphlet *Catholicism without Popery: an essay to render the Church of England a means and a pattern of Union to the Christian World*, says that ever since the breach with Rome in 1559 the clergy have been divided into two camps. "One party were for finding out means of reconciliation with Rome and bringing the Pope to terms"; and the writer adds, "This is the true difference

[1] *A Pacifick Discourse of the Causes and Remedies of the Differences about Religion*, London, 1688 (p. 33), quoted by J. Wickham Legg, p. 410. The book is an English translation of his *De Causis et Remediis Dissidiorum*, Oxford, 1675.

between the High Church and Low Church (as they are called) to this day." [1]

A much more remarkable pamphlet was an *Essay towards a Proposal for Catholic Communion* written five years later, in Queen Anne's reign, in 1704. It claims to be by a Minister of the Church of England. Its authorship is a vexed question. Some at that time who answered it asserted that its author was a Roman Catholic masquerading as an Anglican. The pamphlet is easy of access, for it has been republished several times, last of all in an excellent edition in 1879.[2] It created a great stir when it appeared; it was "greedily bought," and its price rose from 2*s.* to 20*s.*, which shows, as Dr. Wickham Legg points out,[3] the keen interest taken in reunion at the time. In itself the pamphlet

[1] Quoted by Wickham Legg, p. 411, and *Dict. of Eng. Ch. Hist.*, p. 115 (*s.v.* "Church").

[2] *An Eirenicon of the 18th Century*, by H. N. Oxenham, London, 1879. As to its authorship, see Oxenham's Introduction (he ascribes it to William Bassett, Rector of St. Swithin's, London); and *D. N. B.*, *s.v.* "Bassett, Joshua," where the authorship is undetermined; and Dr. Wickham Legg, *op. cit.*, who regards it (p. 140, and though a shade less certainly, pp. 411, 412) as by a Roman Catholic priest, J. Bassett.

[3] Wickham Legg, *op. cit.*, p. 411.

is an appeal by a man of what would be called "Moderate" views, and, in the interest of general reunion, endeavours to show how and where it is possible with Rome.

A far more serious attempt at reunion began in the year 1717. The time would have been judged unfavourable. The Whigs were in power, the House of Hanover had begun to rule, High Churchmen were suspected of disloyalty, many of them were Non-jurors and out of communion with the English Church. Yet it is at such a time that serious proposals for an understanding passed between the Church in France and the English Church.

The Archbishop of Canterbury of the day was Dr. William Wake,[1] who had spent in early life some years in Paris, and had a keen interest in the French Church. The high Papal pretensions had roused some of the French clergy, and the learned historian Dupin, in 1717, wrote to Wake to express his ardent desire for union. Dupin had with him the doctors of the Sorbonne, the sympathy of Cardinal de Noailles, Archbishop of Paris, and, for a time, of the Regent (afterwards Louis XV).[2] The Thirty-

[1] William Wake (1657–1737).

[2] For the account of the project, see J. H. Lupton,

nine Articles were considered by Dupin, who wrote a treatise on them: twenty-three he approved absolutely, the remainder could be admitted with explanations. Wake satisfied the French divines as to Anglican Ordinations, and did not consider transubstantiation an insuperable difficulty. The Archbishop, in a letter to Dupin of March 1, 1719, says, "In dogmas, as you have candidly proposed them, we do not much differ; in Church government, less; in fundamentals, whether regarding doctrine or discipline, hardly at all. From these beginnings how easy was the advance to concord, if only our minds were disposed to peace!"[1] But these fair beginnings were checked by the death of Dupin in 1719, the power of the French Jesuits, the altered attitude of the French Government, and especially by the hostility of the infamous Dubois, Archbishop of Cambray.

One result followed. A learned French priest, Pierre François le Courayer, who during these negotiations had come to study the English Church and to know Archbishop Wake, printed

Archbishop Wake and the Project of Union, London, 1896; Mosheim, *Eccl. Hist.*, ed. 1819, Vol. VI, Appendix iii., pp. 61–137.

[1] Mosheim, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

in 1723 a defence of Anglican Orders. The Jesuits, knowing of the work, made every effort to prevent its publication. To save Courayer the responsibility, his friends stole the MS. from him, and had it printed by a Brussels publisher with no author's name. But the thing was known, and Courayer was violently attacked. Atterbury, the exiled Bishop of Rochester, was then living in Paris, and had become a close friend of Courayer; the Bishop indeed procured him the honour of an honorary D.D. degree at Oxford in 1727. The measures against the Abbé became so threatening, that with Bishop Atterbury's aid he fled to England in 1728. He became immensely popular, not the least at the court of George II and George III, and he lived in England until his death nearly fifty years later, at the age of ninety-five, when he was buried in the cloisters at Westminster Abbey, where his grave can still be seen.[1] Courayer never affected to become an Anglican, though sometimes he attended English services. It should be added that for his pains he was excommunicated, and was never given Holy Communion at Roman Catholic altars in England, though he was in

[1] See *D. N. B.*, *s.v.* Courayer, for references.

the habit of presenting himself at them for that purpose.

From this time for fifty years and more the fungus growth of Latitudinarianism and of indifference settled down upon the English Church and consequently upon projects for reunion.

There is a tract by an Irish Archbishop referring to it, *Catholic Christianity; or an Essay towards lessening the number of controversies among Christians*, by Dr. Synge, in 1729; a learned French Benedictine, in 1745, writing on *The History of the Sacraments*, hopes that Anglican Orders may be proved valid, and that God may bring about a happy reunion.[1] Here and there an isolated Churchman like Dr. Johnson is found free from the conventional ignorance and prejudices against Rome.[2] But such men were very rare, and political

[1] Wickham Legg, pp. 414, 415.

[2] See Boswell, *Life of Johnson*, 1 vol. 4to, ed. Fitzgerald (London, 1897), pp. 150, 151; e.g.:

"Boswell: 'The idolatry of the Mass.'

"Johnson: 'Sir, there is no idolatry in the Mass. They believe God to be there, and they adore Him.'

"Boswell: 'The worship of Saints.'

"Johnson: 'Sir, they do not worship Saints; they invoke them, they only ask their prayers. I am talking

matters did not help. Irishmen and Frenchmen were the nearest Roman Catholics overseas, and both were greatly disliked by the Englishmen of the time. The English Roman Catholics were a decreasing body crushed under the savage penal laws, and were hardly considered by the mass of the nation. Then suddenly educated opinion changed, and how sudden the change was may be seen by the fact that the very slight relaxation of the penal laws in 1778 led to the fanatical anti-Popery riots in 1780, under Lord George Gordon, when for a week London was in the hands of the mob, and even pet canaries as being Popish birds were flung into the bonfires made of the furniture of the Roman Catholics.[1] In ten or fifteen years all this was changed, and the change, like much else in our modern world, was brought by the French Revolution. That

all this time of the *doctrines* of the Church of Rome. I grant you that, *in practice*, etc.' "

At times, however, he was not so concessive, see p. 376 (October, 1779).

See also in 1784 on Invocation of Saints (June 9, at Oxford), p. 470, and p. 552 (Tour in the Hebrides, August 20, 1773).

[1] Dr. Burton, *Life and Times of Bishop Challoner*, ii. 245.

upheaval brought to this country hundreds of *émigrés*, priests and lay people, and Englishmen suddenly awoke to the fact that neither Roman Catholics nor Frenchmen were as black and as bad as had been supposed. At the same time among some of the English Roman Catholic laity and their clergy there had grown up a fashion for admiring the English Church, coupled with a strong dislike of some of the powers of the Holy See,[1] and English Roman Catholics of the "liberal" as opposed to the Jesuit school warmly appreciated the action of Bishop Horsley (then of S. David's) to whom the passing of the Act repealing most of the remaining penal laws was due, in 1791. But it is not until the first decade of the nineteenth century that there is any hint of reunion, and when there is it comes, strangely enough, from the Emperor Napoleon himself, who had inspired a French writer with the idea of the reunion of Christendom. The project aroused some controversy in France in the year 1808.[2] But the idea of reuniting the English and Roman Communions

[1] See the story as told in *Life and Times of Bishop Challoner*, by Dr. Burton and *The Dawn of the Catholic Revival*, by Mgr. B. Ward.

[2] See Wickham Legg, *op. cit.*, pp. 416, 417.

was again brought before the minds of English Churchmen, or at any rate before the minds of some of them, by a thoroughly Georgian prelate. Dr. Shute Barrington, who lived to the age of ninety-two, was the son of a peer, was twice married, and was a Bishop for fifty-seven years of his life, for thirty-five of which he held the very rich see of Durham.[1] Such a man was on the face of it unlikely to desire reunion between England and Rome, as in politics he was strongly opposed to granting Roman Catholics the parliamentary franchise, yet in 1811 he was led to deliver a charge to his clergy on *The Grounds of Union between the Churches of England and Rome considered.* The Bishop's words are so remarkable, for he was not a High Churchman, indeed he is reckoned an Evangelical,[2] that I quote these extracts.

"There appears to me to be, in the present circumstances of Europe, better ground for a successful issue to a dispassionate investigation of the differences which separate the two Churches of England and of Rome, than at any former

[1] *D. N. B., s.v.* "Barrington, Shute."

[2] *Short History of the Evangelical Movement,* by the Right Hon. G. W. E. Russell, 1915, p. 23.

period. . . ." Then speaking of the causes of separation, the Bishop says, "If, I say, by persevering in a spirit of truth and charity, we could bring the Roman Catholics to see these most important subjects in the same light that the Catholics of the Church of England do, a very auspicious opening would be made for that long-desired measure of Catholic union which formerly engaged the talents and anxious wishes of some of the best and ablest members of both Communions. And what public duty of greater magnitude can present itself to us, than the restoration of peace and union to the Church by the reconciliation of two so large parts of it as the Churches of England and Rome?" And he concludes, "If I should live to see a foundation for such union well laid and happily begun . . . which we have reason to hope is not very remote, with what joy and consolation would it illumine the last hours of a long life? With what heartfelt pleasure should I use the rapturous language of good old Simeon, 'Lord, now lettest Thou Thy servant depart in peace'!"

Next year, in 1812, the Rev. John Gandolphy, a Roman Catholic clergyman, one of the clergy at the chapel of the Spanish Embassy, issued

a remarkable "Liturgy" for the use of all Christians in Great Britain, of which a good deal is a following of the Book of Common Prayer. To the second edition of this work, in 1815, he prefixed the Bishop of Durham's Charge.[1] But the English Roman Catholic authorities were in no mood for such approaches. Father Gandolphy soon found himself in grave trouble with his superiors, and his book was placed on the Index of Prohibited Books in 1818. In the same year 1818 a learned English clergyman, the Rev. Samuel Wix,[2] Fellow of the Royal Society and of the Society of Antiquaries, published a tractate urging "the expediency of a Council of the Church of England and the Church of Rome being holden, with a view to accommodate religious differences." It produced some angry answers, to which Wix replied temperately. The Comte de Salis, attracted by the book, caused it to be translated into several foreign languages. Ten years earlier, in 1808, Mr. Wix published a Commentary on the Thirty-Nine Articles, "affectionately intended to promote religious Peace and Unity."

[1] On this, see Mgr. B. Ward, *Eve of the Catholic Revival.*

[2] For S. Wix (1771–1861), see *D. N. B.*

From 1818 to 1824 is a very short step, and in that year we come to what is a most remarkable event in the story, a proposal for a reunion between the Churches, put forth by a Roman Catholic Bishop. This prelate was the famous Dr. Doyle, Roman Catholic Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin.

The Bishop addressed Mr. Robinson, afterwards the first Lord Ripon, an Anglican layman and then Chancellor of the Exchequer, urging a reunion between the Churches, referring to the proposal a century before made by Archbishop Wake and suggesting, like Mr. Wix and others before him, a Conference of Protestant and Catholic divines of learning and a conciliatory character. He declared that on most of the points at issue "it appeared to him that there was no essential difference." Dr. Doyle's suggestion was prompted by a speech in the House of Commons by a Mr. Robertson, who had urged the Union of the Churches in Ireland as perfectly feasible and dwelt on Bishop Shute Barrington's Charge. Dr. Doyle's appeal was responded to with some enthusiasm by a layman, a Mr. Thomas Newenham, and there is reason to believe that the Bishop was not speaking without "the tacit concurrence at least of the

Holy See,"[1] but no formal reply was made to his proposals by the English Church. It continued to bear fruit, however, in various published letters and pamphlets; even in 1842 a volume of sermons was published in Dublin, *A Union between the Roman Catholic and the Protestant Churches rendered practicable*,[2] and this was followed by a tract by an Anglican clergyman, *The Roman Catholic and Anglican Churches proved to be nearer related to one another than most men imagine*. Unquestionably at this time there was a drawing together on the part of some of the Irish Bishops of both Communions, difficult to believe as that is to-day, for Bishop John Jebb of Limerick (1775–1833), was not only a Churchman of the type of the Caroline divines, but was also deeply venerated by Irish Roman Catholics, and (what must surely have been a unique experience since the division), "on one occasion addressed the people after Mass from the altar of the Roman Catholic Church at Manoe," when "he was heard with

[1] So H. N. Oxenham, *Introd.*, to *An Eirenicon of the Eighteenth Century*. p. 39.

[2] These are mentioned by Oxenham, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

breathless attention." [1] That the same spirit appeared in Dr. Murray (1768–1852), the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin from 1823 to 1852, he shewed in a letter to Mr. Æneas MacDonnell: "Were Church of England people true to the principles laid down in their Prayer-book, the doctrinal differences, *which appear considerable but are not*, would soon be removed." [2] Bishop Doyle died all too soon in 1834, at the age of forty-seven, Bishop Jebb had died the year before, when but fifty-eight. Meanwhile the light which had begun to shine in Ireland passed over to England; and the last stage of the story begins, which belongs to that of Revival in the English Church, which is known as the Oxford Movement.

The Oxford Movement, in so far as it recalled men to the principles of truth, and to the historic Faith, was bound to bring into increasing clearness the desire for unity. Yet, at first, it was not designed to promote reunion

[1] See on these relations between Anglicans and Roman Catholics in Ireland, *The Life and Times of Bishop Doyle*, i. 336, 337 (2nd edition, 1880); and for testimonies as to reunion, *ibid.*, vol. ii. App. viii. See also Bishop Doyle's *Letter to the Right Hon. A. R. Blake on the Union of the Churches*, 1838.

[2] Oxenham, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

with the Holy See. Mr. Keble, in *The Christian Year*[1] (published 1827), and in his famous Assize Sermon, which began the Movement, on July 14th, 1833, expressed himself anything but favourably towards the Roman Communion. So, too, Dr. Newman, in two poems in the *Lyra Apostolica* (1836), spoke strongly against reunion with Rome,[2] and was fiercely anti-Roman in his teaching. Indeed, the *Tracts for the Times* were originally advertised as "Tracts against Popery and Dissent," and the Movement was in part born "out of the anti-Roman feelings of the Emancipation time. . . . It was to avert the danger of people becoming Romanists from ignorance of Church principles." So, conversely, it was disliked and derided by the English Roman Catholics,[3] and Dr. Wiseman, the later Cardinal, opened an attack on it in Lent, 1836. But as its principles spread it showed the enormous amount of ground common to English and Roman Catholics, and advances towards the Oxford men began to be made by a very devout

[1] Poem for Nov. 5:

"Speak gently of thy sister's fall."

[2] Nos. 173 and 174, and the note to 173.

[3] See *Life and Letters of John Lingard*, by Haile and Bonney, pp. 280–1

and chivalrous Leicestershire squire, Mr. Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle. Mr. de Lisle's *Life and Letters* were published in two considerable volumes, edited by Mr. Purcell, in 1900, and it is only possible to summarize his work here. He had become a Roman Catholic as a lad of sixteen in 1825, but he kept a great love for the English Church, and he devoted much of his long life (he died on March 5, 1878) to trying to bring about reunion between the Churches of England and Rome. Some of the less well-known of the Oxford men, especially Mr. Bloxam of Magdalen, responded to these advances, but when a strong Roman party was formed among the followers of the Movement, intercourse became close. There were two currents at work. One school of Roman Catholics, like De Lisle himself and Bishop (later Cardinal) Wiseman, viewed the Oxford Movement with sympathy, and in a published letter of 1841, Wiseman suggested that explanations might be made on the Roman Catholic side, and accepted the explanation of the Thirty-Nine Articles as given in Dr. Newman's Tract No. 90, which "stripped them of all contradiction" to the Decrees of Trent.[1] On the other hand, there was a large

[1] *Letter to Lord Shrewsbury*, by Dr. N. Wiseman

body who regarded the thought of reunion as a mischievous dream, calculated to hinder waverers from becoming Roman Catholics. That party, always strong in the Roman Communion, scored a notable victory fifty years later under Cardinal Vaughan. But reunion did not admit of much discussion when one of the parties was fighting for its life, though in 1841 some excitement was caused by a letter [1] from W. G. Ward to the French *Univers*, afterwards circulated in Germany and Italy, "appealing to the sympathy and co-operation of the foreign Churches in the work of Reunion." But these advances

(1841), pp. 31, 33. (Quoted in Oxenham, *op. cit.*, pp. 68, 45).

[1] See on this letter, and these schemes generally, *W. G. Ward and the Oxford Movement*, pp. 186–202; *Life and Letters of A. Phillipps de Lisle*, vol. i. pp. 203, 229, 245 *seq.*, 295 *seq.* De Lisle's correspondence with Bloxam is much exaggerated by Mr. Purcell, and he has handled this material in a most unusual way. Dr. Bloxam's transcripts of the whole are in the Library of Magdalen College, Oxford, and a comparison between them and the letters as printed by Mr. Purcell show the letters cut up into fragments and made to do duty in two or three places. The correspondence extended only from Feb 25 to Oct. 11, 1841, and was cut short by Sibthorpe's secession in that month. With Ward it went further and lasted longer: but then Ward was definitely Roman, Bloxam was not.

were checked by the secession to Rome of one of the Oxford men in October of that year, and no further attempts at explanation or understanding were made for the next decade.

In 1857 a new effort was begun again by Mr. de Lisle from the Roman side. He published a book in that year on the *Future Unity of Christendom*, and after consultation with some Anglican clergy and laity, there was founded, on September 8, the Association for Promoting the Unity of Christendom[1]: a society which included members of the Roman, Eastern, and English Churches. Its only obligation was to use daily a common prayer for unity. Various Roman Catholic dignitaries joined it, as well as some distinguished Eastern Prelates. But Dr. Manning and the Ultramontane Roman Catholics in England detested it, and finally secured its condemnation at Rome in September, 1864, and Roman Catholics were ordered to withdraw from it. A few months later, Manning, now Archbishop, published an attack on

[1] Its chief founders on the Roman Catholic side were De Lisle and A. Pugin; among Anglicans the Rev. F. G. Lee and Bishop Forbes (*de Lisle, Life and Letters*, pp. 364, 373 *seq.*, and especially p. 414). On its condemnation, see Purcell's *Life of Cardinal Manning*, ed. i. vol. ii. pp. 275–288.

the English Church in a letter to Dr. Pusey. To that letter Pusey replied in 1865, in a learned *Eirenicon*. He pleaded, as English divines before him had done, for mutual explanations between the Churches. Pusey himself journeyed to France, and had interviews with various French Bishops[1]; the Archbishop of Paris, Mgr. Georges Darboy, afterwards martyred in the Commune (May 27, 1871), being especially cordial. Two English Bishops (Salisbury and Gloucester and Bristol), warmly approved the *Eirenicon*, but the English Roman Catholics disliked it, and Dr. Newman replied to it in a published *Letter*. The rumour of a great Council to be held at Rome fanned these hopes of reunion afresh, and in view of it an English layman, G. F. Cobb,[2] Fellow of Trinity, Cambridge, published a treatise, *The Kiss of Peace; or, England and Rome at One on the Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist*, in 1867, a work of considerable value; and in the same year Dr. Forbes, Bishop of Brechin, issued his famous Commentary on the Thirty-Nine Articles,[3] treating them as Sancta Clara

[1] Pusey, *Life*, iv. 113–116. For his second visit, *ibid.*, pp. 132–134.

[2] G. F. Cobb (1838–1904). See on him Lord Halifax's *Leo XIII and Anglican Orders*, p. 59.

[3] Vol. i., 1867; vol. ii., 1868.

and Tract 90 had done before. Meanwhile, the French Bishops were cordial, and Mgr. Dupanloup, Bishop of Orleans, in 1866 had promised to circulate in his diocese the prayer English Churchmen were using for reunion, and offered to present the case of the English Church at the forthcoming Council.[1] So, too, a learned Belgian Jesuit, M. de Buck, threw himself into the cause, and drew up a sketch of terms for reunion to be submitted to the Council. Pusey published in 1869 a second, and in 1870 a third *Eirenicon*; but the Ultramontane party was in power, and their triumph put an end to these high hopes for another generation.

There was one strange effort to bring about reunion between England and Rome, which began in 1877. It was, it is believed, a very small affair; it made a great display of mystery, and it was, from first to last, entirely unimportant. It was principally the work of one English clergyman, Dr. F. G. Lee, Vicar of All Saints', South Lambeth, who was secretly consecrated Bishop (report said by Bishops of the Roman and Eastern Churches) in or near Venice. One version of the story is that the consecration took place on the high seas, to avoid interference with other jurisdic-

[1] *Pusey*, iv. 172 *seq.*

tions. Dr. Lee consecrated in England Mr. T. W. Mossman, a Lincolnshire rector, and a learned layman, Dr. Seccombe, and there is evidence of other consecrations. The object of the Order was to re-ordain English clergy conditionally, thus giving them Orders which Rome would recognize. The mystery surrounding the Order invested it with some romance; its rulers promulgated Pastorals, and for some two years it issued a *Reunion Magazine*. Of its known Bishops, Bishop Mossman was received into the Roman Communion on his death-bed in 1885, as was Dr. Lee in 1901. From the first it was entirely repudiated by High Churchmen, and it was an instance of strange eccentricity which did no good to the high cause it was meant to serve. Dr. Lee, in earlier life, had worked hard on orthodox lines for reunion; he was the first Secretary of the Association founded in 1857, and for some years he was editor of *The Union Review*.

The last formal attempt to heal the breach is the most interesting, and is certainly the most fully told.[1] It is the attempt connected with the names of Pope Leo XIII and Lord

[1] See Lord Halifax, *Leo XIII and Anglican Orders*, and Canon T. A. Lacey, *A Roman Diary*.

Halifax, who has placed on record a full and clear account. From a friendship with a French clergyman, the Abbé Portal, Lord Halifax was led to hope that it might be possible to remove the misunderstandings which separate England and Rome. The object aimed at was nothing more ambitious than to arrange a series of Conferences between divines on both sides. Lord Halifax believed that the question of English Ordinations might furnish the most profitable subject for a discussion, which might proceed to other matters. Some of the more learned of the French clergy were interested in the matter, and in 1894 the subject of Anglican Orders began to be investigated in France. The interest of the Pope, Leo XIII, was aroused, and finally he appointed a Commission to investigate the question at Rome. In 1895 and 1896 there was a wide interest in the affair, Archbishop Maclagan of York, Mr. Gladstone, and many others less eminent were eager in the cause. But, from the first, the generality of English Roman Catholics under Cardinal Vaughan were hostile, and the Cardinal did all in his power to hinder the success of what Lord Halifax and the Abbé Portal had been attempting. In November, 1895, a weekly

review, *La Revue Anglo-Romaine*, began to be published in Paris as a means of friendly discussion between the English and French clergy; Cardinal Vaughan forbade English Roman Catholics to write articles in it. The Commission of scholars appointed by the Pope contained three members who believed English Orders to be valid, but the findings of this Commission, whatever they were, were submitted to a further Commission of Cardinals, and there the party of Cardinal Vaughan triumphed. In September, 1896, it was declared by the Bull *Apostolicæ Curæ*, that the question of Anglican Ordinations had already been settled, nearly two hundred years before, adversely, at Rome.

At first, it seemed as if the hope of reunion had been finally crushed, but when the air cleared, this was seen to be incorrect. For the Bull produced a *Response* from the English Archbishops in 1897, which affirmed clearly the teaching of the English Church on the Priesthood, the Real Presence, and the Sacrifice in the Holy Communion, and this will be an important factor in any future plan for reunion.[1] And the Bull itself did, in fact, leave a loophole, little as it was noticed at the

[1] Cf. Lord Halifax, *op. cit.*, p. 396.

time; and as Lord Halifax has said, "it is a loophole through which in the future much may come."[1] Certainly, to quote Lord Halifax again (his book was published in March, 1912), "the question of Reunion with the Roman See is not where it was fifteen years ago" (i.e. when the Bull was published); "it has been lifted into another sphere. The position of the Church of England is being understood abroad as it was never understood before. . . . The Bull was expected to weaken the Church of England" (Cardinal Vaughan, just after the Bull was published, announced the formation of a 'Fund for the support of Converted Anglican Clergymen,' as he expected so many secessions), but, instead of weakening the English Church, the result of the Bull was to strengthen and to spread its roots. "Many have been compelled to think of their Orders as they never did before."[2] Other works have been published since: - *Steps towards Reunion*, by a Roman Catholic priest in England,[3] which it is true was placed upon the Roman Index of Prohibited Books soon after it appeared; and various

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 392. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 397.
[3] The Rev. J. Duggan.

books by writers from the Anglican side. The fight for reunion is not over yet, but though in such a connexion "fight" is perhaps an ugly word, yet it is the best one, if it reminds us of this supreme fact, that we all have weapons and we have to use them. Those weapons are:

(1) To be fair and honest and truthful in controversy, and to try to see the other side.

(2) To live, as loyal English Churchmen, by the standard set up by the Prayer-book. And, most of all,

(3) To pray. This part of the story began with Bishop Andrewes, and with Bishop Andrewes it may end. For, if the learning and fairness of Andrewes did much to clear the air three hundred years ago, it will be, even more, the prayers of Bishop Andrewes, and of those who try to live their lives as Andrewes lived his, which will one day heal this open wound in the Visible Body of the Lord on earth.

CHAPTER II

REUNION WITH THE EASTERN CHURCH

UP till the eleventh century there was no formal breach in the Body of Christ on earth. In practice as well as in theory the Church was outwardly one, the only divisions were those of geography. It needs to be remembered that in the one Body, in the early centuries at any rate, the Eastern part was far more important intellectually than the Western. All Christian writings for the first 200 years were in Greek; for a considerable time, and all through the first century, the Church in Rome itself was a Greek-speaking Church. "All Latin theological literature before S. Augustine (of Hippo) is in substance the application and imitation of Greek models."[1] When under Constantine, the seat of Empire was moved from Rome to Byzantium, the Bishop

[1] Döllinger, *Lectures on the Reunion of the Churches*, Eng. Trans., 1872, pp. 39, 40.

of New Rome, as Byzantium was called, became more and more important, especially when the great Patriarchal Sees of Alexandria and Antioch and Jerusalem fell under Moslem dominion. From the fourth century, however, there was growing jealousy between the two parts of the Church; later there were breaches between them,[1] one of the best known being under Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople, in the ninth century (hence Roman Catholic writers speak sometimes of the Eastern Church as "the Photian schism"), but the great formal separation occurred in 1054, when Pope Leo IX by his legates excommunicated the Patriarch of Constantinople, and Michael Cerularius, the Patriarch, replied by a like act.

The questions at issue then were principally matters of discipline and ceremonial (miserably small affairs really), in fact the question was the supremacy of the Roman See.[2] Yet it was not until "quite the middle of the twelfth century . . . that communion between the Churches was broken off," and then it was the Crusades with their outrages by the Latins upon the Greeks which made "a complete breach inevitable."[3] In all

[1] Duchesne, *Les Églises Séparées*, ed. 2me 1915, p. 223, dates the schism in reality from the fourth century.

[2] See Mosheim, *Eccl. Hist.*, ed. 1819, vol. ii. pp. 553–557.

[3] Döllinger, *op. cit.* p. 41.

this the English Church followed naturally and inevitably the lead of its Patriarch at Rome. Rome was the only Western Church that had directly to do with Eastern Christendom. The Churches of France, Italy, Germany, Spain and England had no direct relations with it.

Still, in its early days the English Church owed something to the East. Archbishop Theodore, who organized the Church in England, was a Greek monk, of Tarsus. In 1439, at the Council of Florence, it was thought that the schism between the East and the West had been healed.[1] The English King, the pious Henry VI, sent an embassy to the Pope with a letter glowing with joy, while a year before the King had sent envoys to the Eastern Emperor and to the Patriarch of Constantinople with warm messages of welcome and encouragement.[2]

[1] In 1274 at the Council of Lyons definite terms of settlement had also been agreed upon.

[2] For references to the MSS. Letters from Henry VI to Eugenius IV. see F. G. Lee, Introduction to *Sancta Clara on XXXIX Articles*, 1865. He gives them as "Lambeth, 211, 98 and 99." The first is dated "Our camp at Windsor, October 3, 1439." G. Williams quotes the letters to the Emperor and the Patriarch, and to the Pope from Bekynton's *Letters*, Nos. 226, 227, vol. ii. pp. 77–80, and that to Eugenius No. 214, pp. 49–51. G. Williams, *The Orthodox and the Non-jurors*, 1868, pp. iii., iv.

The letter of 1439 of our King Henry VI is so fervent that the nineteenth century divine, Mr. G. Williams, who describes it, "declined the task of translating it," as its words would appear unreal to all who had not pondered the evils of a divided Christendom. And Henry VI was not content with letters, for public processions, litanies and thanksgivings were offered up in the various English dioceses with all fervour of devotion and rejoicing of the people." [1]

The Reunion at Florence was hollow and a failure, and then the Mohammedan Conquest of the Eastern Empire and the fall of Constantinople in 1453 cut off Eastern Christendom effectually from the West. Through the troubled times of the sixteenth century the great Churches of the East seem to have been forgotten. The English Reformers of the sixteenth century paid little attention to them. Their existence was forced on men's notice by the "Prayer of S. Chrysostom" (probably so-called because Cranmer took it from the Liturgy of S. Chrysostom [2]) placed at the end of the Litany

[1] For these Mr. Williams says the Bishops' Registers afford evidence, *op. cit.*, p. iv.

[2] On its history see Proctor and Frere, *History of the Book of Common Prayer*, p. 410.

by the Archbishop when he revised it in 1544 ; and the great Church of Constantinople was omitted from the charge of "error" brought against the other Patriarchates in the Thirty-nine Articles.[1] These are slight matters perhaps, but they serve to show that the English Reformers had no desire to make a breach with the East, and indeed further, as against Rome, they appealed to Greek customs and Greek opinions, especially Bishop Jewel of Salisbury.[2] Yet in his *Defence*[3] of his *Apology*, writing in 1567, Jewel says: "What the Grecians this day think of us, I cannot tell." In fact any direct intercourse between England and the Eastern Churches was hardly possible until 1579, when a treaty of commerce was made with Turkey and the Levant Company was founded. Here again, as in the story in the previous chapter, the history begins with the name of Bishop Launcelot Andrewes. Andrewes prayed regularly for the Eastern Church, "for its deliverance and union," and in his *Devotions* it

[1] On this see Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. v, vi, and notes.

[2] Bishop Jewel quotes in his *Reply to Mr. Harding's Answer*, pp. 123, 128–9, 139 (twice), 169, etc. Parker Soc., and see Index to 4th vol. of his *Works*, s.v. "Greek Church"

[3] *Defence*, Part I (Parker Soc. p. 196).

is noticeable that he prays *first* for the Eastern Church and then for the West.

But more than that, Andrewes' *Devotions* owe a great deal to the Greek service books and especially to the Liturgy of S. James. And the Greek "*Horologion*, which corresponds to the Western Breviary, . . . has left a marked and easily recognized impress "[1] on that most famous of all books of private prayer. The first important date is 1611, when George Sandys, the youngest son of an Elizabethan Archbishop of York, travelling in the East, visited Alexandria and made acquaintance with the remarkable Patriarch, the ill-fated Cyril Lucar. Sandys reports the Patriarch as saying that "the differences between us and the Greeks be but shels "[2]

In 1616 Cyril began to correspond with the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Abbot, and in that year, at the request of James I, he sent one of his priests (who later became his Chancellor at Constantinople) to study at Oxford. This priest was Metrophanes Critopoulos. He entered Balliol College and lived in Oxford for

[1] Brightman. Introduction to *The Preces Privatæ*, p. xlv.

[2] Bishop John Wordsworth, *Church of England and the Eastern Patriarchates*, p. 8.

some five years, and during that time he was, apparently, supported by Archbishop Abbot. He made many friends in England, and some time after his return to Constantinople he became Patriarch of Alexandria.[1]

Cyril Lucar deserves far more than the brief mention that can be given him here. He held the Patriarchal See of Alexandria from 1602 to 1621, and then he became Patriarch of Constantinople until his murder in 1638. It was unfortunate that the English bishop with whom he corresponded was Abbot and not Andrewes; for Abbot was of the Calvinist school, and Cyril had imbibed the doctrines of Calvinism during a stay in Lithuania. Andrewes could have shown him, as Abbot could not, a far more excellent way. Cyril published in 1629 a Confession of Faith which contained Calvinist doctrine. He was, Bishop Wordsworth, of Salisbury, says, "not a . . . great ecclesiastical statesman, nor a very profound thinker. But he seems to have been a thoroughly simple, affectionate, open-minded and pious man."[2] He was detested by the Jesuits at Constantinople, and they denounced him to the Sultan for high treason.

[1] Wordsworth, *op. cit.*, pp. 9–11, 15, note d.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 14.

He was brutally murdered by the Sultan's orders on June 26, 1638.

England during the years 1621–8 had at Constantinople as Ambassador Sir Thomas Roe, who protected the Patriarch so far as he could. Through him the Patriarch sent to Charles I the precious Alexandrine MS., which is known among the great New Testament MSS. as Codex A (Alexandrinus), now among the treasures in the British Museum. Later the Patriarch sent to Archbishop Laud an Arabic MS. of the Pentateuch, now in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

The idea of promoting friendship between the Churches by sending Greek students to Oxford did not cease with the death of Cyril. After that murder one of his trusted officials, Nathaniel Conopius, took refuge in England, where Archbishop Laud befriended him and sent him, like Metrophanes before him, to Balliol College, Oxford. In Oxford he became a chaplain, or, as it would be called elsewhere, a Minor Canon, at Christ Church, and he held that post until he was expelled by the Parliamentarian visitors 1647–8. He then returned to the East, where he became Bishop of Smyrna about 1651. John Evelyn in his diary notes that he was the first

person he had known to drink coffee in this country, thirty years before that habit became common.[1]

This friendly intercourse was continued by a very learned and interesting Caroline churchman, Dr. Isaac Basire (1607–1676), chaplain to King Charles I, and Archdeacon of Northumberland. Forced to go abroad after the triumph of the Parliament for some years, Dr. Basire set before himself the high task of making known the position and teaching of the English Church through the Eastern Patriarchates. He made and circulated with this object a Greek translation of the Catechism, and he was so successful (in Zante) as to incur the enmity of the Latins. In Achaia the Metropolitan allowed him to preach twice in Greek to his assembled bishops and clergy.[2] At Jerusalem the Patriarch Parsius, "the better to express his desire of communion with our old Church of England, by mee declared unto him," writes Dr. Basire, "gave mee his bull or patriarchal seal in a blanke (which is their way of credence) besides many other

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 18, 19.

[2] Darnell, *Correspondence of I. Basire, D.D.*, 1831, p. 116.

respects." [1] And in Jerusalem the Roman clergy also received him most courteously, and in a permit from them to visit the Holy Sepulchre as a priest, he was styled "Sacerdotem Ecclesiae Anglicanae," [2] priest of the English Church, an expression which would not have been approved by Cardinal Vaughan in a later day. How successful he was in spreading a wider knowledge of the English Church and in promoting a desire for union was proved by a collection of syngraphs and original subscriptions of divers Eastern Patriarchs and Asian churches to our Confession, which he showed to John Evelyn in 1662,[3] the year after his return to England. "It hath been my constant design," wrote this devoted Royalist churchman in 1653, "to dispose and incline the Greek Church to a communion with the Church of England, together with a convenient reformation of some grosser errours." [4] On his return to England the work of reforming the clergy and restoring the churches in his huge archdeaconry absorbed his powers. He died at Durham in

[1] *Correspondence of I. Basire, D.D.*, p. 116.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 117.
[3] Wickham Legg, *op. cit.*, p. 395.
[4] *Correspondence*, p. 119.

1676, but he had done more than any one man in his day to establish an understanding with the East.

Meanwhile, other labourers were at work. From two centres English churchmen touched the Eastern Church. The first was the factory at Aleppo in Syria, where there was a succession of remarkably able and devout chaplains. The second and more important was the embassy at Constantinople. In 1661 Sir Paul Rycaut, an able and devout layman, went there as secretary to the Ambassador, Lord Winchelsea. He became the consul of the Levant Company at Smyrna in 1667, and at Smyrna he lived for another twelve years. He was eager in the cause of Reunion, and on his return to England (in 1679) he printed a book on the Greek and Armenian Churches, which in the judgment of Bishop John Wordsworth in 1902 "is still worth reading." [1] The chaplains to the embassy were an even more interesting succession of men. The best known of them is Dr. Thomas Smith, who held the post from 1668 to 1670. He was Fellow of Magdalen at Oxford, and a very learned scholar. At Oxford he was nicknamed "Rabbi Smith," but he was also a sincere and earnest church-

[1] Wordsworth, *op. cit.*, 18.

man and eager for Reunion with East and West, as mentioned in the last chapter. From 1672 onwards he published books on the Eastern Churches; one especially in 1676 appeared with the special sanction of the Bishop of Oxford (Dr. Compton), which went into a second edition in 1678, and was translated into English (it was published in Latin) in 1680. Dr. Smith declined to take the oaths to William and Mary, and in 1692 he lost his fellowship, but he lived on for another eighteen years in London (he is buried in S. Anne's, Soho), and his interest in the Eastern Church very possibly suggested the attempt at Reunion which some of the Non-juring bishops made six years after he was dead.[1]

Dr. Smith's successor as chaplain in Constantinople was Dr. John Covel, who held the post from 1670 until 1678, and was afterwards Master of Christ's College, Cambridge. He printed in 1722 an account of the Eastern Church, in which he states that in 1670 he was urged by Dr. Sancroft, Pearson (then Master of Trinity) and Gunning (then Bishop of Chichester) to

[1] There is an article on Dr. Smith in the *D.N.B.* (XVIII, 539–541) and a longer account by Dr. Overton in his *Nonjurors*, pp. 172–178.

inquire what was the generally accepted belief of the Greeks concerning transubstantiation. It is probably in answer to this inquiry that a synodical answer sent in 1672, "to the lovers of the Greek Church in Britain," was issued. It is known from a copy sent a generation later to the Non-jurors.

Covel was succeeded as chaplain by Edward Browne,[1] who was also learned and sympathetic while his contemporary chaplain at Aleppo, Robert Huntington, afterwards Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, and later Bishop of Raphoe, who kept up friendly intercourse with the Eastern clergy. Under Charles II there were further points of contact. The Metropolitan of Samos, Joseph Georgirenes, came to London in 1677, and there he received considerable assistance from the King, from the Duke of York, later James II, and from the Bishop of London. This was Dr. Henry Compton, who held the See from 1675 to 1713, thirty-eight years, longer than any bishop before or since. Whatever may be said against Dr. Compton, and some things can be said, he was certainly anxious for Reunion and greatly interested

[1] For him see Williams, *op. cit.*, p. xv, and references there.

in the Eastern Church. It was chiefly due to Compton that a church for the Greeks was built in what was then the fashionable part of London, Soho, in this year 1677, and it was served by the Metropolitan of Samos.[1] That building in the eighteenth century fell into disuse, and after many years, of desecration it was consecrated to Anglican worship in 1850, under the title of S. Mary, Soho. The old church was taken down as unsafe a few years ago, but the present church stands on the old site, and presumably the body of the Greek Archbishop still lies under the altar. In the year 1678 this Greek prelate published a little account of his island, and of Mount Athos, dedicated to the Duke of York; and a further result of his dwelling here was a petition to Archbishop Sancroft, probably between 1682 and 1683, for "twelve scholars out of Greece to be constantly here to be instructed and grounded in the true doctrine of the Church of England."[2]

This scheme was actually realized in 1698, when it was arranged that twenty students, five from

[1] See the references to collections for it, J. W. Legg, *op. cit.*, p. 395, n. 7.

[2] Williams, *op. cit.*, p. xx.

each Patriarchate, should reside in Oxford at Gloucester Hall, the present Worcester College. A number of Greeks came, but after a hopeful beginning the scheme came to an unhappy end. The college was mismanaged, and the students were drawn off elsewhere. Some led an irregular life, others (it is said) were lured away by Roman intrigue, so on March 2, 1705, the Patriarch of Constantinople forbade any more of his flock to go to study in Oxford.

In 1689 a Royal Commission was appointed to revise the Prayer-book. It came to nothing, but one of its recommendations is interesting. "It is humbly submitted to the Convocation whether a Note ought not" "to be added" (to the *Filioque* clause in the Nicene Creed), "with relation to the Greek Church, in order to our maintaining Catholic Communion." In the discussions on the Athanasian Creed in the Commission the Bishop of Salisbury, the Latitudinarian Dr. Burnet, urged that "it condemned the Greek Church, whom yet We defend." [1] During this period distinguished Greek ecclesiastics came to England and were received with respect. In 1701 arrived the Archbishop of Philippopolis with his suite. The archbishop

[1] J. W. Legg, *op. cit.*, p. 400.

was welcomed at both Oxford and Cambridge; each of those universities conferred on him its degree of D.D. At Oxford, in addition, three of his attendant clergy were created Masters of Arts, and his physician Doctor of Medicine.

Six years later the Archbishop of Gotchan, in Armenia, was welcomed in England, Queen Anne and the Archbishop of Canterbury and of York aiding him with money for his work.

Seven years after, in 1714, came another Greek archbishop, whose visit was to have a remarkable result. This was Arsenius, Archbishop of the Thebaid, sent to ask for aid by the persecuted Church of Alexandria.[1] Queen Anne gave him £200, and George I £100, and he received other help, but he and his friends outstayed their welcome. "The poor Archbishop cried out like a child when my Lord of London told him he must depart," wrote Humphrey Wanley in December, 1714,[2] and he remained until 1716. In July of that year the Scots bishop, the Hon. Archibald Campbell [3] (a grandson of the eighth Earl and first Marquess

[1] His suite consisted of an archimandrite, four deacons, a reader, a cook, and an interpreter.

[2] Williams, pp. lx–lxi, p. 4.

[3] On him see *D.N. B.*, iii, pp. 791–2.

of Argyll), proposed to the English Non-jurors "that they should endeavour a union with the Greek Church." The Non-jurors were the churchmen, bishops, clergy and laymen, who had resigned their preferments in 1689 rather than break their oaths to King James II, and had included the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Sancroft, and eight other English bishops. The idea was acted upon, and three learned Non-juror bishops drew up proposals for Reunion, which one of them, Bishop Spinckes, put into Greek, and they delivered these to Archbishop Arsenius, "who carried them to Moscovy, and engaged Peter the Great" (the famous Tsar of Russia) "in the affair."[1] The Tsar, it will be remembered, knew something of England as he had lived here for a time in 1698. Peter the Great heartily espoused the matter and sent the proposals on to the Patriarch of Alexandria to be communicated to the four Patriarchs. These "proposals for a Concordate betwixt the orthodox and catholick remnant of the British Churches and the Catholic and Apostolical Oriental Church"[2] are very learned, but in places, I must own, very

[1] Dr. Brett's account in G. Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 4, 5.

[2] They were printed from copies by *G. Williams* in his valuable *The Orthodox and the Nonjurors* (1868), the

odd. The document mentions twelve points on which the Non-jurors and the Easterns were agreed, and adds five "wherein at present they cannot so perfectly agree." These five points were: (1) they could not put the Canons of General Councils on a level with the Scripture; (2) they fear undue honour paid to the Mother of the Lord; (3) they could not use direct invocation of saints or angels, nor of the Blessed Virgin; (4) though they worshipped the Lord as verily and indeed present in the Holy Eucharist, they could not agree to worship the sacred symbols of His Presence; and (5) they feared the Eastern use of sacred pictures. Those were their points of difference; in their actual proposals one suggested a rearrangement of the Patriarchal thrones (which had been settled by General Councils for nearly fourteen centuries) and they proposed to transfer the primacy of the Universal Church to the Patriarchate of Jerusalem. They also suggested that a church called "The Concordia" should be built "in or about Lon-

original texts were discovered by the late Dr. J. Dowden, Bishop of Edinburgh, and are described by him in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, i., p. 562. The text is also printed in Martin and Petit's *Collectio Conciliorum* (Paris, 1905), 1 col., pp. 370–624.

don," to be under the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Alexandria, "where the English service shall at times be used," and that if they (the Non-jurors) are restored "to their just rights," then divine service according to the Greek rites shall on certain days be celebrated "in the Cathedral Church of S. Paul."

The answer from the Patriarchs is dated April, 1718, but it did not reach the Non-jurors until November, 1721,[1] the delay being due, as the Archbishop of Thebaid is careful to explain, "not to contempt, but because the Patriarchs were occupied in a Synodical examination" of the Proposals. It is a document of great length, and the sum of it is that Easterns could alter nothing. The Non-jurors replied with great ability and learning, asking for liberty as to "Invocation of Saints, the worship of Images, and the Adoration of the Host." The Patriarchs in September, 1723, answered with courtesy and friendliness, but declined to change their attitude. Meanwhile the Non-jurors had opened negotiations with the Holy Synod of the Russian Church in 1722, and these were much more promising. The Russian Church at the instance of the Tsar replied in

[1] Overton, *Non-jurors*, p. 457.

1723 proposing a conference to which the Non-jurors gratefully agreed, and they were preparing to send two of their number in 1725. Much might have come of this, but unhappily the Tsar, Peter the Great, died in that year, and with his death the negotiations dropped. It is quite possible that the four Patriarchs (of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem) discovered that the Non-jurors did not represent the actual English Church, and that their uncompromising attitude was due to that discovery. The story of this negotiation may seem a byway and out of the direct road; even if that be true, the Non-jurors in such a marked degree represent directly the theology of the great Anglican divines that this story shows the very practical desire of English churchmen for Reunion with the East.

The direct road is soon reached again by means of this bypath, for in 1724 the Archbishop of Canterbury became aware of the proposals that were afoot. He was the learned Dr. William Wake, whose negotiations with the Church in France were mentioned in the last chapter. He wrote in 1725 a dignified letter to the Patriarch of Jerusalem, urging him to beware of the Non-jurors as being schismatics with fictitious

titles. "Meanwhile," he wrote,[1] "we, the true Bishops and Clergy of the Church of England, as, in every fundamental article, we profess the same Faith with you, shall not cease in spirit and effect (since otherwise, owing to our distance from you, we cannot) to hold communion with you and to pray for your peace and happiness." In conclusion, the Archbishop wrote, "I most earnestly entreat your Holiness to remember me in your prayers and sacrifices at the Holy Altar of God." Bishop John Wordsworth considered that Archbishop Wake's letter prevented our relations with the Eastern Church being compromised by the proposals of the Nonjurors.[2]

1725 is the date of Archbishop Wake's letter to Chrysanthus, Patriarch of Jerusalem. Then, as in the case of Reunion with the West, the blight of the eighteenth century Latitudinarianism falls upon all the story. There are very few and scattered references to relations with the Eastern Churches for the next hundred years; but enough to show that interest in the Eastern Church still flickered in that dreary time. In 1729 a book was published on the present state and regulations of the Church in Russia. In 1735 the S.P.C.K. made a present of Arabic Psalters and

[1] Williams, *op. cit.*, p. lviii.

[2] Wordsworth, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

New Testaments to the Patriarch of Alexandria. In 1772 Dr. King, chaplain to the factory at S. Petersburg, wrote a book, dedicated to King George III, on the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church in Russia, in which he says that the Russian Church "may be considered in respect of its service as a model of the highest antiquity now extant."[1] In 1829 Dr. Waddington,[2] later Dean of Durham, published an account of the Greek Church which, while "altogether friendly," does not seem to entertain the idea of reunion.

Then with the Church Revival in 1833 the atmosphere changed. That movement revived the ideals of the Caroline churchmen, and in their desire for the Reunion of Christendom men turned to the East as well as to the West. In 1839 William Palmer, a Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, and an English deacon, brother of the first Lord Selborne, petitioned the Grand Duke Alexander, then visiting Oxford, to bring about an understanding between the Russian and English

[1] J. W. Legg, *op. cit.*, p. 401. Dr. Headlam has described it as "by far the best work on the Russian Church. *Church Problems*, p. 220.

[2] G. Waddington, 1793–1869, Dean of Durham, 1840–1869. He had travelled a good deal in Greece.

Churches. The venerable President of Magdalen, Dr. Routh, aided and encouraged Mr. Palmer, and when in 1840 Palmer visited Russia with a view to explaining the position of the English Church, Dr. Routh gave him a letter to the Russian bishops, asking them, if they considered Mr. Palmer's faith orthodox, to admit him to communion. Mr. Palmer was aided in these endeavours by a gifted bishop, Dr. Luscombe, who had been consecrated to minister to English churchmen on the continent of Europe and who lived in Paris. The aged Dr Torry, Bishop of S. Andrews, also gave Mr. Palmer counsel and credentials. Mr. Palmer's efforts, earnest as they were, failed at the time, and they were in part counteracted by his own secession to Rome in 1855.[1]

Mr. Palmer's efforts were directed chiefly to Russia, though in 1846 he published a *Harmony of Anglican Doctrine with the Doctrine of the Eastern Church,* a work of considerable learning which was translated into Greek and published at Athens in 1851, and was thus an attempt at Reunion. Meanwhile fresh labourers

[1] For William Palmer see his *A Visit to the Russian Church,* ed. Cardinal Newman, and Dr. J. M. Neale's *Life and Times of Bishop Patrick Torry,* ch. vi., and W. J. Birkbeck's *Russia and the English Church.*

appeared in the field. In 1841 there was an ill-fated scheme to establish a Bishopric in Jerusalem in conjunction with the Prussian Government. Apparently the real aim of that scheme was to introduce the Apostolical succession into the Established Church of Prussia. The scheme failed, and its chief result was to unsettle Mr. Newman in his belief in the English Church; but it also brought about a renewal of official intercourse between the English and the Eastern Churches, and was intended "as an embassy of peace and goodwill to the Eastern Church."[1] The first Bishop, Dr. Alexander, took with him a commendatory letter from Archbishop Howley to the Patriarchs, a letter which stated that the Bishop was forbidden to intermeddle in any way with the prelates of the East; he was to show them due reverence: and the letter avowed "our hearty desire to renew that amicable intercourse with the ancient Churches of the East which has been suspended for ages, and which, if restored, may have the effect, with the blessing of God, of putting an end to divisions."[2] As a proof of this desire a learned Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, Mr. George Williams, who

[1] G. Williams, *op. cit.*, p. xli.
[2] *Ibid.*

was eager to restore communion with the Eastern Church, at Archbishop Howley's request, accompanied Dr. Alexander as his chaplain. The efforts of Mr. George Williams only ceased with his death in 1878; it was due to him that the Eastern Church Association to bring about a better understanding was founded in 1864; it received much support from bishops of both parts of the Church.

These efforts at an understanding might have been seriously hindered by the action of the second Bishop in Jerusalem. Samuel Gobat, a Swiss, who about 1851 began to try to proselytize from the Eastern Churches. A strong protest against his doings was sent to the Eastern Patriarchs, signed by Dr. Pusey, Mr. Keble, Isaac Williams, and by over 1,000 others, a protest chiefly due to the famous hymn-writer and divine, John Mason Neale. Five years later, in 1856, the two English and the two Irish Archbishops sent an address of sympathy with Gobat, which was probably intended as a demonstration against the party of the Church Revival at home.

The attempts at closer intercourse were checked for the moment by the unfortunate Crimean War, but in 1863 the Lower House of

the Canterbury Convocation appointed a Committee, to confer with a similar committee of the American Church "as to intercommunion with the Russo-Greek Church." Later, in 1866, this direction was extended to include intercommunion with the other Eastern Patriarchates. In 1868 the Lower House resolved unanimously that the Archbishop and Bishops take steps towards opening direct negotiations with the Eastern Patriarchs, but the Bishops of that day, with one or two exceptions, were not the men for such an attempt. In 1874, and again in 1875, conferences for Reunion were held at Bonn, attended by Eastern, Old Catholic and Anglican representatives, and a formula of concord on the subject of the *Filioque* clause was reached at the second conference. Among the English representatives on each occasion was the great theologian and preacher, Dr. Henry Parry Liddon. Though those conferences were without immediate result, they have done much for the cause of Reunion, while the Anglican and Eastern Orthodox Churches Union founded in 1906, into which the old Eastern Church Association has recently become merged, has distinguished English as well as Eastern Prelates among its members.

The Lambeth Conferences which began in 1867, and which are held practically every ten years, have been followed by official relations with the Orthodox East. After the conference of 1897 the Bishop of Salisbury was commissioned to deliver to each of the Eastern Patriarchs in person the resolutions of the conference on Unity. The Conference of 1907 sent a letter of greeting to a National Council of the Russian Church, and made permanent a Committee appointed "to confer with the Eastern Patriarchs . . . with a view to establishing closer relations with them." These may sound slight matters, but officialdom moves slowly, and they certainly represent a great advance on anything that had gone before.

During the last fifty years acts of personal civility toward distinguished ecclesiastics of each part of the Church have been frequent and cordial. In 1870 the Archbishop of Syra and Tenos, on a visit to England, received the D.D. degree at Oxford, and was present at the consecration of the first English suffragan-bishop of modern days, the Bishop of Nottingham, and at the consecration of Dr. Mackarness to the See of Oxford. So the visits of English bishops to Russia has been marked with great honour by

the Russian Church. Bishop Creighton (then of Peterborough) was received as no other foreign churchman was received at the Coronation of the Tsar in 1896, and Archbishop Maclagan of York was received with great distinction in 1897.

The English and the Eastern Churches are thus on terms of official friendship, a friendship which one result of the great war may be to ripen into love, but as yet intercommunion is not accomplished, nor are English Orders and English sacraments recognized officially as valid; though distinguished divines and scholars among Eastern churchmen have declared in their favour. Meanwhile it should be remembered that the Association for Promoting the Unity of Christendom founded in 1857 still continues its work of prayer, and includes Eastern as well as English churchmen.

In this matter again our immediate work as individuals is clear. First of all we need to remember our Eastern brethren in our prayers, as Bishop Andrewes prayed "for the Church Catholic, Eastern, Western, British"; "for the Church Catholic, its confirmation and increase; for the Eastern, its deliverance and union." Then we need to try to understand the Eastern Church and its points of view, and that means taking

the trouble to read books on the subject. And the best, or one of the best points of view into the heart of Christian Russia is to be got from the novels of Dostoievsky. But there still remains another method. The words of the Roman Catholic Archbishop Murray which, quoted in the first chapter on Reunion with Rome, are also true of Reunion with the East. "Were Church of England people true to the principles laid down in their Prayer-book, the doctrinal differences, which appear considerable but are not, would soon be removed."

BOOKS IN ENGLISH DEALING WITH RUSSIA AND THE RUSSIAN CHURCH

THO. CONSETT. *The Present State and Regulations of the Church in Russia.* Lond. 1729.

DR. J. G. KING. *Rites and Ceremonies of the Greek Church in Russia.* Lond., 1772.

W. PALMER. *A Visit to the Russian Church,* 1840–1. Ed. J. H. Newman. Lond.,

W. J. BIRKBECK. *Russia and the English Church.* Vol. I. Correspondence of W. Palmer and M. Khomiakov. Lond., 1895 ; reissued 1917.

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ATHELSTAN RILEY. *Birkbeck and the Russin Church.* S.P.C.K. 1917.

W. PALMER. *Dissertations on subjects relating to the Orthodox or Eastern-Catholic Communion.* 1853.

Report of his Grace the Archbishop of Syra and Tenos on his Journey to England. In the original Greek, with English Translation. 1871.

G. WILLIAMS. *The Orthodox Church of the East in the 18th Century: being the correspondence between the Eastern Patriarchs and the Nonjuring Bishops.* 1868.

CHAPTER III

REUNION WITH THE FOREIGN REFORMED

IT is important in connexion with this subject to consider the attempts which have been made to bring about Reunion, or at any rate a closer understanding, with the Protestant communities abroad. Such movements have come, as a rule, from the foreign Protestants themselves, and broadly they fall into two divisions: attempts to bring about intercommunion, and attempts to arrive at an understanding on the question of the Ministry.

Before beginning the story, it is well to remember that the foreign Protestants were divided broadly into two great schools which regarded one another with considerable hostility: these were respectively the Saxon and the Swiss schools.

The adherents of the Saxon school were the followers of Martin Luther. They rejected far less of the old system than the more radical Swiss reformers. To-day in Norway and Sweden and in Denmark their pastors wear the chasuble in celebrating the Eucharist, and they have preserved the crucifix as an emblem in their churches. The Lutherans believe in the Real Presence, and practise sacramental confession.

The Swiss Reformers took their rise from Ulrich Zwingli, of Zurich, who strongly denied the Real Presence. Zwingli fell at the battle of Kappel in 1531, but two years before that an attempt at reconciliation between him and Luther at the conference of Marburg had completely failed. At its close Zwingli had held out his hand to Luther, but Luther refused it with the words, "You are of a different spirit from us." John Calvin, at Geneva, became the representative of Zwingli's principles, and Bullinger, Zwingli's successor at Zurich, made common cause with Calvin. So that from 1550, roughly, there are two schools of foreign Protestants: the Lutherans in the Scandinavian States and in part of modern Germany; the Reformed (as they are usually called) in Switzerland, in Holland, in

France, and later in Scotland. And these latter were Calvinists. Between the two a great gulf was fixed by the doctrine of the Real Presence.[1]

The first attempt at union with Protestants abroad occurred in 1535, three years before the actual breach with Rome. From 1529 Henry VIII would seem to have resolved upon a quarrel with the Papacy. By 1534 the quarrel had become serious; Henry had defied the decision of the Holy See in his marriage suit, and caused the English Church to abjure the Roman supremacy. Necessarily he looked abroad for support in his policy, and in December, 1535, he opened negotiations with the Princes of the Augsburg Confession. These were the Princes of the Empire who adhered to the Lutheran statement of doctrine which was presented to the Emperor, Charles V, at the Diet of Augsburg, 1530.

These negotiations proceeded from the English king. He sent three envoys; Edward Foxe, Bishop of Hereford; Dr. Barnes, an Augustinian friar, and an eager Lutheran who was burnt

[1] For the differences between the two schools see Aubrey Moore, *History of the Reformation*, 386–394, 389.

as a heretic five years later, and Nicolas Heath, Archdeacon of Stafford, later Archbishop of York and Lord Chancellor under Queen Mary. They were to urge the German princes to refuse the General Council offered by the Pope, and instead of it to come to a unity of doctrine with the English Church. Dr. Dixon says that the first proposition (to refuse a General Council) "may claim the eminence of having hindered the last chance of the reconciliation of the world."[1] The Lutherans were in no mood for union: they insisted that the English Church must approve the Confession of Augsburg; and the English divines, with one exception, and he the least Protestant, made an unfavourable impression. "Nicolas Heath the Archdeacon," Melancthon said, "alone excels in Humanity and Learning. As for the rest of them they have no relish of our Philosophy and Sweetness." [2]

The Bishop of Winchester, Stephen Gardiner, the leader of the Conservative party in the English Church, and high in favour with Henry VIII, saw the proposed articles of union, and advised strongly against them,[3] and in

[1] R. W. Dixon, *Hist. of Church of England*, i, 309.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 311 note.

[3] His opinion is printed in Collier, *Eccles. Hist.* (ed. 1845), Vol. 9 (Records Vol.), p. 131 (No. XXXV).

April, 1536, the negotiations came to an end. Two years later, in 1538, Henry was again anxious from political motives for a Lutheran alliance, and a distinguished Lutheran embassy came to England and conferred on the theological questions with a committee consisting of three bishops and four doctors. Among the bishops were Cranmer and Tunstal. The negotiations broke down, since the English divines "would not let go their communion in one kind, their private Mass, and their celibacy of Priests." This conference of 1538 had, however, one result which was only discovered in the nineteenth century, when Archbishop Cranmer's MSS. were thoroughly explored. Thirteen articles were agreed upon by the assembled divines, and these had some influence upon the later Thirty-nine (or as they originally were, the Forty-one) Articles.

A year later, 1539, the Lutheran ambassadors returned to England willing to make great concessions to the English Conservative bishops, but the tide had set in the other direction, and the Act of Six Articles passed in that year showed that any close union with Reformers was out of the question. The idea of union with the Foreign Reformed was long cherished by Arch-

bishop Cranmer, and the death of Henry VIII in 1547 at last freed his hand. The idea had begun with the learned and pacific Melancthon, the friend of Luther. For this end Cranmer laboured during the six years of the reign of Edward VI (1547–53), and with this object he invited various distinguished Foreign Reformers to England to prepare "one common harmony of faith and doctrine." The project came to nothing partly because Melancthon was lukewarm in his support, partly because of the grave difficulties in England itself. Cranmer hoped at a Conference to unite the Saxon as well as the various shades of Swiss Reformers. That dream was shared only by Cranmer and his immediate friends; unquestionably the great body of the English bishops and almost all the English clergy and laity would have been strongly opposed to any such union.

The reign of Mary resulted in an exodus of the reforming clergy to the centres of reforming ideas in Germany and in Switzerland, and most of those who returned to posts of dignity under Elizabeth were deeply dyed with the views of the Swiss school. As a result there was a close bond for a great part of that reign between the dignitaries of the English Church and the Swiss

Reformers (very few of the Elizabethan bishops, perhaps only Cheney and Geste, favoured the Lutheran school). Calvin, Bullinger and Beza exercised a wide influence over English theology: and yet, notwithstanding their influence, the orders conferred by the foreign bodies appear always to have been reckoned irregular and invalid in England. For instance, it was objected to a Dean of Durham of that day (in 1578), William Whittingham, that "he was not made minister after the Orders of the Church of England, but after the Form of Geneva." Whittingham died before the case was determined, but Archbishop Whitgift asserted that "if Mr. Whittingham had lived he had been deprived without special grace and dispensation." [1]

Meanwhile distinguished foreign Protestants, Saravia, Grotius, and Casaubon, were strongly drawn towards the English Church and desired (at least Saravia desired) to draw the English Church and the foreign bodies closer together.[2] Saravia is especially interesting: a learned Dutchman of Spanish ancestry, he settled in the Chan-

[1] Strype, *Whitgift*, Vol. III, p. 285. The question is discussed by Dr. Mason, *The Church of England and Episcopacy*, pp. 493–6.

[2] See Dr. A. J. Mason, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

nel Islands; for five years (1582–7) he was Divinity Professor at Leyden, and then came to England, where he became in time (in 1595) Canon of Canterbury, where, as all readers of Walton's *Lives* know, he heard Hooker's last confession and gave him his last Communion. Saravia had published in 1590 a strong defence of Episcopacy in the hope of persuading his Dutch friends to repair their defect.[1]

Throughout this period, from 1560 to 1600 and later, there was strong political sympathy between English Churchmen and foreign Protestants, especially those of Holland, due to a common dread of Spain. But close as the intercourse was, the English divines insisted on the necessity of Episcopacy where it could be had, though they did not in theory deny the orders of the Foreign Reformed bodies. As to the recognition of such orders in England at this time, this must be said, that when in 1586 Travers, Reader at the Temple, pleaded that his foreign Protestant ordination should be recognized and said, "In this Church of England many Scottish men and others made ministers abroad have been so acknowledged and executed their ministry accordingly, and yet

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 32, seq.

do still among us," Whitgift, the somewhat Puritan Archbishop of Canterbury, replied, "I know none such."[1] There seem to have been no scheme for Reunion with the foreign Protestants until the reign of James I.[2]

In 1618 four Anglican divines attended the Synod of Dort in Holland, where an attempt was made to compose the differences between the various schools of Calvinists. These divines were chosen and sent by the King to represent the English Church. They were Dr. Carleton, Bishop of Llandaff, later of Chichester; Dr. Hall, later Bishop of Norwich; Dr. Davenant, later Bishop of Salisbury; and Dr. Ward, Master of Sidney Sussex, Cambridge. These clergymen were, as Collier says, writing in 1714,[3] "no other than four Court divines; their commission and instructions were only from the King; properly speaking they were no more than his Majesty's plenipotentiaries: . . . they had no delegation from the Bishops, and by consequence were no representatives of the British Church,"[4] but their

[1] Mason, p. 501.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 106.

[3] The date of publication of vol. ii. of this history. Vol. i. appeared in 1708.

[4] *Eccles. Hist.*, ed. 1840, vol. 7, p. 411.

appearance at the Synod was marked by one noteworthy event. An article (31 of the Belgic Confession) was proposed for approval which decried episcopal government.[1] Bishop Carleton made an indignant protest, and defended strongly the Apostolical Succession of bishops, and his colleagues joined in his protest. These divines, it may be added, were all more or less later opposed to Archbishop Laud and his school, and were reckoned moderate Puritans. Such men in the English Church looked with a very kindly eye on the Protestants abroad. Richard Crakanthorpe,[2] who died in 1624, wrote a *Defence of the Church of England*, published in the year after his death, which, while strongly asserting that the English Church and English churchmen are Catholic, yet asserts as strongly that the English Church is in communion with the foreign Protestant bodies, and he dwells on the blessedness of attempting to draw the Reformed bodies into union with the English Church, and with one another. Sentiments as strong on the same side were expressed by Dr. Davenant, Bishop of Salisbury 1621–41. He had been at

[1] The story is fully told by Dr. Mason, *op. cit.*, p. 105 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 94–100.

the Synod of Dort, but it was as a bishop in 1634 that he contributed to John Dury's *Eirenicon*, with a view to restoring peace between the various Reformed Churches, and in 1641 he published an *Exhortation to brotherly communion between the Reformed Churches*. Bishop Davenant certainly took what would be called a very extreme line. He took for granted that Reformed Churches, Lutheran and Calvinist, had a desire to retain brotherly communion with the English, Scottish, Irish and Foreign Reformed Churches, and by communion he explained that he meant participation in the Sacraments, and he believed that the Apostles' Creed is a sufficient basis for inter-communion." [1]

John Dury (or Durie) deserves longer notice. He was born in Scotland, became an Independent minister, lived much abroad, and laboured for the last fifty years of his long life (1596–1680) in the cause of Reunion.[2] Archbishop Laud encouraged him to be ordained priest in the English Church in 1634. Dury worked hard to promote Reunion between

[1] Wordsworth, *National Church of Sweden*, pp. 294–6.

[2] Wordsworth, p. 291 and n. 41. Dr. Mason's work has many references to him.

the Saxon and the Swiss schools, and Archbishop Laud as well as Bishop Davenant were much interested in his work. Dury later became a Presbyterian and then again an Independent, and his work of reunion was not crowned with success; but with all his weaknesses, he was, in the judgment of Bishop John Wordsworth, "a brave and persevering man." It should be added that Durie's last effort at reconciliation took the form of what is said to be an extraordinary commentary on the Book of Revelation published in 1674, six years before his death.[1] By that time he desired to include in his scheme of union all Christians, Roman Catholic and Reformed.

After the death of Charles I, and what seemed like the defeat of the Church, many Anglican ecclesiastics fled to France, Holland and Germany. In France the relations between some of the English clergy and the Foreign Reformed were very close; some ecclesiastics, like Cosin, attended their services and communicated with them, while other Churchmen, such as Edward Hyde, afterwards Earl of Clarendon, refused to do so, and Hyde was earnest in persuading Charles II not to compromise himself by attending such worship. The fact was that so long as

[1] *D.N.B.*, *s.v.* Durie, John.

the political fear of Rome was lively many Churchmen emphasized strongly their belief in and sympathy with the Reformed Churches abroad. Yet the ministry of those Churches was never recognized officially by the English Church, although it is possible that in individual cases men ordained by them have held English benefices. It is alleged that one such case existed after 1662.[1]

The settlement of 1662 made Reunion with the Foreign Reformed more difficult, since the Act of Uniformity laid down in precise terms the legal necessity of episcopal ordination for holding a benefice. Gradually the attitude of English divines towards the Foreign Reformed bodies was modified. At first the lack of bishops was held to be due to necessity: "things were assumed to be right," and then a certain number of English theologians began to express their doubts. Jeremy Taylor, in 1642, says that he knows not what to think. Yet the official and formal attitude of the English Church never wavered on the question of the foreign ordinations nor indeed

[1] The statement is rather vague, no name or date is given. It is quoted in Dr. Henson's *The Relation of the Church of England to the other Reformed Churches* (1911), p. 70.

of the status of the Foreign Reformed bodies. Thus in 1689 the Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury, in an address to the Crown, vetoed the words "the Protestant Religion in general," lest it should own the Presbyterian Churches of the Continent," and the practice of the English Church was to re-ordain the ministers of the Foreign Reformed when they sought a cure of souls in England.

In the beginning of the eighteenth century, when ideas of Reunion were so much in the air, there arose something like an attempt at Reunion from the kingdom of Prussia. Frederic, the first King of Prussia, was crowned at Königsberg in 1701, and for the coronation he had appointed two court preachers to be bishops, one a Calvinist, the other a Lutheran. Frederic desired to reunite the Calvinists and Lutherans in his kingdom, and at the same time he wished to secure for his bishops the Apostolical Succession. With some such prospect in 1704 he had the Book of Common Prayer translated into German, and he proposed to use it in his Chapel Royal. The Archbishop of Canterbury, Tenison, for fear of offending the English Dissenters, it was said, was not enthusiastic for the plan, but in 1710 the Archbishop of York, Dr. John Sharp, was

brought into the scheme and received it gladly. Through Dr. Sharp Queen Anne was attracted by the idea, i.e., of restoring the episcopate to Prussia. The Prussian minister at the Court of St. James, M. Bonnet, reported in March, 1711, to his master that the negotiations were very difficult. "The greater part of the clergy here," he wrote, "is possessed with a belief in the Apostolical Succession, and upon this supposition they allege that there can be no true ecclesiastical *government* but under bishops of this order, nor true *ministers* of the Gospel but such as have been ordained by bishops; and if there be others that do not go so far, yet they all make a great difference between the ministers that have received imposition of hands by bishops, and those that have been ordained by a synod of presbyters."[1] The King of Prussia had also thoughts of establishing a fund for training students in divinity in the English universities; but this, and all the other schemes, fell through with the death of the King in 1713, and with the death of the Archbishop of York a year later.[2]

Theophilus Dorington, then Rector of Wit-

[1] The letter is printed in the original in the *Life of Archbishop Sharp*, ii, pp. 173 *seq.*

[2] J. Wickham Legg, *op. cit.*, p. 405, n. 3.

tersham, Kent, translated in 1703 Baron Pufendorf's *View of the Principles of the Lutheran Churches, being a seasonable Essay towards the Uniting of Protestants*, doubtless in connexion with the Prussian scheme just mentioned. In 1714 it was republished: the accession of George I, himself a Lutheran, being judged a suitable moment for such an attempt. A little before, in 1707, the Professors of the Calvinist University of Geneva complained to Bishop Compton of London, and to the Archbishop of Canterbury (Tenison), that the University of Oxford had shown a very unpleasing tone to them in verses printed on Queen Anne's accession and on the death of the Duke of Gloucester.[1] The University at the bidding of the Archbishop and Bishops apologized with a very ill grace, regretting that the Genevese did not possess the Episcopal succession and the ancient form of Church government.

Archbishop Wake, who succeeded Tenison at

[1] Wickham Legg, pp. 403–4. Possibly they are (translated) :—

"Ah, beware lest Tiber pollute thy true heart,
Or filthy Geneva foul thy sacred waters."

Or,

"O let not the pretended cloak of sour Geneva defile thee, nor the showy pride of scarlet Rome."

Canterbury in 1716, has already appeared in the previous chapters in connexion with the Roman and Eastern Orthodox Churches ; he is also to be found in friendly correspondence with the Pastors and Professors of Geneva.[1] In 1719 he writes expressing his desire for union and dissociating himself from the opinion of those who do not regard the foreign Protestants as brethren or their sacraments as valid.[2] Wake's letters to the Foreign Reformed of Switzerland and of France are written in 1718 and 1719. In the former year, 1718, John Robinson, then Bishop of London (he was the last ecclesiastic to be employed in the diplomatic service), made overtures to the Lutheran Church of Sweden.[3] Dr. Robinson, who as Bishop was "charitable but incompetent," had been for some years the English envoy in Sweden. The negotiations came to nothing, for the Swedish bishops, so far as their replies have been preserved, regarded the English Church with suspicion, and as the patron of sectarian licence and Calvinistic doctrine. These early years of George I's reign seem to have stirred the desire

[1] The letters are in Mosheim (ed. 1819), vi, 124, *seq.*
[2] Mosheim, vi, p. 91.
[3] Mason, *op. cit.*, p. 519.

for Reunion on all sides for, also in 1719, Earl Stanhope, introducing a Bill for the relief of Protestant dissenters, argued that "by the union of all true Protestants the Church of England would still be the head of all the Protestant Churches, and the Archbishop of Canterbury became the Patriarch of all the Protestant clergy.[1]

A little later, in the eighteenth century, there is a trace of a movement for Reunion with the body called the *United Brethren*, the Moravians. With their history I am not now concerned except to say that they began as a kind of guild in the Church in Bohemia, and gradually came to have a great horror of everything Roman. In 1467 they determined to get a ministry independent of the Roman succession, and from an elder or bishop of the Waldenses in Austria they received, as they believed, a valid episcopal consecration. They appealed for aid to the English Church in 1641 and again in 1662, and under Archbishop Wake collections were made in parish churches for "the Episcopal Reformed Churches, formerly in Bohemia, now in Great Poland and Polish Russia." A little later the *Unitas* established a branch in England.

[1] Lord Mahon, *Hist. of Eng.*, i, 141.

Both Archbishop Wake and his successor, Archbishop Potter, recognized and welcomed them, apparently, as a true "Protestant episcopal Church," and a scheme for joint ordinations and consecrations was prepared. Bishop Thomas Wilson, the apostolic Bishop of Sodor and Man, had six years before his death undertaken to act as Superintendent and Bishop of the Community in England; he was to be one of the "Antecessors of the General Synod of the Brethren of the Anatolic Unity." But the scheme collapsed, owing to legal difficulties, and the Moravians were reduced to registering themselves as Dissenters in order to obtain the protection of the law.

Though it was not exactly an attempt at Reunion, yet mention should be made of the fact that in India, practically throughout the eighteenth century, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge subsidized the Danish and German Lutheran Missions in the Presidency of Madras: and those relations ceased only when the Missions were taken over by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in 1824.[1] So too the Church Missionary Society, founded in 1799, in its early days in India employed Lutheran agents in

[1] On this see Dr. Mason, *op. cit.*, p. 510.

default of English clergy. It was certainly, as Dr. Mason says, "a striking anomaly," but it may be seen from Bishop Heber's life that the "orders" of these Lutheran pastors were by no means recognized by the Church of England or by its representatives. Bishop Heber, who greatly admired them, regarded them as laymen. "If sometimes they read prayers and preached to English congregations who had no chaplain, it was not because their orders were acknowledged, for some missionaries who had had no ordination at all did the same. Those whom these men ordained Bishop Heber ordained afresh when he could." [1]

The attempt at an understanding with the Moravians was the last of such efforts for nearly a century, and then in 1841 came the scheme to which reference was made in the last chapter, for setting up a joint Anglican and Prussian bishop in Jerusalem. The project began with Frederick William IV of Prussia, who desired to introduce the episcopate into the State Church of his kingdom, a body which had been created by the union of Calvinists and Lutherans. With this object the King sent a very trusted envoy, M. de Bunsen, to England in 1841 to

[1] Dr. Mason, *loc. cit.*

negotiate for a bishop to be sent to Jerusalem to have jurisdiction over Anglicans in those parts, and over such other Protestant congregations as should place themselves under his authority. The Prussian King gave £15,000 to the endowment; £20,000 was to be raised in England. Mr. Gladstone was drawn into the scheme, Bunsen arranged matters with the bishops, and a bill creating the bishopric became law in six weeks. The Crowns of England and Prussia were to nominate in turn; the bishop was to ordain German clergy on their subscribing the Confession of Augsburg, Anglicans on signing the Thirty-nine Articles and the Prayer Book. The real object of the scheme was to restore to Prussia, by this roundabout method, clergy episcopally ordained. The project, which was stated to be partly "a step towards the unity of discipline and doctrine between the English Church and "the less perfectly constituted of the Protestant Churches of Europe," was resolutely opposed by leading High Churchmen, especially by John Henry Newman, who wrote in 1843, "May that measure utterly fail and come to naught, and be as though it had never been." Newman regarded it as compromising the English Church, since Lutherans and Calvinists

were to be admitted to communion without renouncing their doctrinal errors.[1]

The first bishop, a converted Jewish Rabbi, was conveyed to his new work in a ship of war, appropriately named the *Devastation*. He died after two years, leaving a large young family slenderly provided for. His successor, nominated by the King of Prussia, was a Swiss pastor, who was ordained deacon in 1845, and priest five days before his consecration as bishop in 1846. His rule was marked by disaster; he endeavoured to proselytize from the Eastern Church; a little later he intruded into the Scots dioceses; finally he quarrelled both with his own clergy and with the English residents in Jerusalem. He died at last in 1879, having been bishop thirty-three years.[2] During his rule the first Lutheran pastor arrived in Palestine in 1853 and ministered to a congregation of twenty-three persons. Only two pastors were ordained under the scheme, and its failure was complete when on their return to Germany the Prussian Evan-

[1] The story of the bishopric, with the authorities for it, is summarized in an article by the present writer in the *Dict. of Eng. Ch. Hist.*, s.v. Jerusalem, Bishopric in.

[2] He used as his official signature the strange form "S. Angl.-Hierosol."

gelical Church would not own them as ministers. A third bishop was appointed in 1879, but died in 1881, and no attempt was made to fill his place. Thus Newman's passionate prayer was answered, for in 1886 the treaty was dissolved and Germany received back the £15,000 given by Frederick William IV. Since then attempts at Reunion with the Foreign Reformed have been made through the Lambeth Conferences.

At successive Lambeth Conferences since 1878 the question of Moravian Orders came before the Bishops. In 1897 the Conference desired further information as to Moravian Orders, and expressed an eager wish for "such relations with the Brethren as will aid the cause of Christian Unity." In 1906 a committee found the Moravian claim to episcopal succession "not proven," and the Conference of 1907 laid down precise regulations as to an alliance with the Moravian body. The Moravian General Synod at Hernhutt in 1909 warmly welcomed the Lambeth resolutions.

The question of Reunion with the Lutheran Church of Sweden is more promising, for, in the judgment of some very considerable scholars, the Swedish bishops are believed to have preserved the Apostolical Succession. In 1888 the Lam-

beth Conference resolved that efforts should be made to establish more friendly relations with the Swedish Church. Twenty-five years before, in 1863, it should be noted that the Diocesan Synod of Aberdeen had made an effort toward a negotiation with the Swedish Church. In 1897 a committee was appointed to consider Swedish orders. In 1908 the Conference was attended by a Swedish bishop and a committee reported that Swedish Orders were matters for friendly conference and explanation. The great scholar bishop, John Wordsworth, of Salisbury, devoted himself to this cause, and his book on *The National Church of Sweden*, published in 1911, undoubtedly by the strain it imposed on him caused his sudden death.

There is another body abroad with whom relations, though close, have not existed for long: that body is the Old Catholic Church which has absorbed the National Catholic Church of Holland, or, as the Roman Catholics would call it, "the Jansenists." Whatever may be said of these believers, there is not the faintest shadow of doubt that they have preserved the Apostolic Succession. That great worker in the cause of Reunion, Dr. John Mason Neale, in 1858 pub-

lished a history of the so-called Jansenist Church of Holland which showed strong sympathy with that ancient body, and after the publication of the Vatican Decrees of 1871 Roman Catholics who could not accept them turned to this Church.

At the Reunion Conferences at Bonn in 1874 and 1875 the Old Catholics took a considerable share, and three years later the Lambeth Conference sent to them a "message of sympathy." In 1888 the Conference desired "friendly relations with them," though it believed that "the time had not come for any direct alliance." In 1897 that desire was repeated and the offer of communion to the Old Catholics was repeated. Resolutions binding the Conference "to maintain and strengthen the friendly relations which already exist" were passed in 1908, and in that year a Society of S. Willibrord, "the Anglican and Old Catholic Union to promote a closer intercommunion between the English Church and the Old Catholics abroad," was founded under the later Bishop of Gibraltar, Dr. Collins, and bishops of both communions have joined it. A few years ago an Old Catholic bishop, the Bishop of Haarlem, visited England and was present officially at English services.

To summarize the relations between the English Church and the Foreign Protestant bodies. At first these were close, as their common opposition to Rome was strong. Then, as the fear of Rome waned, the bond which united the foreign Protestants to the English Church loosened and dissolved. At first it was believed that their lack of episcopal orders was due to necessity; later, it was found that this plea was not true. And the English Church never officially recognized their ministries nor regarded their sacraments as valid. Individual bishops and divines did so, and probably (to quote Dr. Mason's exhaustive study of the question, *The Church of England and Episcopacy*) "there were a few instances of the admission of men in foreign presbyterian orders to English cures. But the Church of England in its corporate capacity did not sanction them, nor did the law of the realm. . . . they were a defiance of the established rule."[1] After 1662 the question was of no practical importance. English divines had all along been divided on the question of the foreign Protestants, but on the question of reunion with them, the official view of the English Church has

[1] *Op. cit.* pp. 509, 510.

never deflected from that expressed in the Preface to the Ordinal, viz., that Episcopal ordination is necessary to constitute a bishop, priest or deacon.

The two grounds on which those older English divines were inclined to believe in the foreign Protestants have, during the last century, given way.

(1) The plea of necessity no longer avails; the Foreign Reformers might have had bishops if they would. They broke with episcopacy deliberately. But so long as the plea of necessity was held, it "governed the relation between the English Church and these various bodies on the Continent. Its effect has, however, often been mistaken for a full recognition of the validity of their Orders and Sacraments." [1]

(2) The view that the foreign Protestants stood for what was Catholic and primitive as against what was Roman. Foreign Protestant-

[1] Dr. J. P. Whitney in his valuable *The Episcopate and the Reformation*, pp. 141–2 and note (1). The question of the recognition of the ministry of the foreign Reformed Churches is treated with great learning by E. Denny in his *English Church and the Ministry of the Reformed Churches* (Church Hist. Society), 1902, as well as in the authorities previously referred to in this chapter.

ism in the nineteenth century was not a return to primitive antiquity; it revealed itself as in a growing degree anti-Catholic and anti-Christian; in a word, Unitarian.

CHAPTER IV

HOME REUNION

THE fourth and last division of the subject is the history of attempts at reunion at home; the story of attempts at an understanding between the Church and the Dissenters from it. In the Middle Ages Dissenters from the Church were treated as heretics, and until the day of the Lollards, i.e., until the later fourteenth and earlier fifteenth centuries, the serious cases of heresy were extremely few. There were only six recorded trials of heretics in England, Bishop Stubbs found, before 1377.[1]

The Lollards were the true begetters of the later English Dissenters, as the late Dr. James

[1] *Eccles. Courts Commission Report* (1883), i. (Historical Appendix II), p. 52. The first case recorded is in 1166.

Gairdner made clear, for they held strongly the view for which the Puritans in their turn contended, that the Bible, being the Word of God, was infallible, and that (herein lay their central position) "every humble-minded man had the power to interpret" that infallible book aright. That view did away at once with any idea that the Church as a whole, or its learned clergy, had any greater authority than that of each single humble-minded man. "If the humble-minded agreed in their views, then of course there arose a new Church of humble-minded men who had the true power of interpretation which the old Church must evidently have lost."[1] That view sprang into being with the Lollards, it gathered strength and reappeared in full force in the Calvinist and in the Puritan, it subverted "for a time the English constitution. And though, after this great triumph, it lost much of its tyrannical power when the Church and nation once more righted themselves, its force was not entirely spent for two hundred years more. In fact, though sorely discomfited now by the advance of civilization through the various avenues of science, criticism, travel, and

[1] Dr. J. Gairdner, *Lollardy and the Reformation*, i, p. 206.

experience, it remains among us still, and a generation or two may pass even yet before it is wholly extinct." [1] The Lollard view, as Dr. Gairdner has pointed out, was as hostile to the Church when it had been reformed as it was to the unreformed Church, and therefore it was bound to result sooner or later in the growth of separate groups. All these groups on the principle that the true interpreter of the Bible is the individual Christian believer reach back to the Lollards, though of course they differed very widely from them as well as from one another in other points of belief and practice.[2] This part of the story, then, is concerned to trace the attitude of the Church to these separated groups and to mark the attempts that have been made to bring about an understanding with them. It is a little wide of the subject to trace the growth of reunion amongst themselves, though that has become a wonderful feature of our time and is full of promise. To call these

[1] Gairdner, *op. cit. ibid.*

[2] Dr. Gairdner points out that Wycliffe himself "was a genuine schoolman, and ought never to be reckoned as a heretic, . . . for there is no appearance that he had advanced any of his opinions . . . without deference to the judgment of a united Church, pronounced when all his arguments had been heard," *op. cit.*, i, p. 66.

separated groups in England Dissenters is sometimes considered as offensive; the term "Nonconformist" is thought to be less aggressive. No one worthy of the Christian name would desire in such a matter to make division more bitter or encourage uncharitableness by the use of a term; but it should be remembered that, speaking historically and accurately, "Dissenter," and not "Nonconformist," is the word which actually describes the bodies with whom this chapter is concerned.

Nonconformists actually and historically are "those who, while declaring themselves members of the Church of England, are conscientiously unable to conform to some of its rules."[1] There were many such in the reigns of Queen Elizabeth, James I, Charles I, and Charles II. "Richard Baxter declared himself a Nonconformist expressly to dissociate himself from those who felt bound to dissent or to separate. The Nonconformists always regarded themselves as members of the Church of England, and stated

[1] Archdeacon W. H. Hutton in *The History of Nonconformity in the Present Century*, a paper read at the Church Congress, London, 1899, where the above point is made very clear.

that with the Brownists or Independents began the first consistent dissent." [1]

The Dissenters are those who dissent from the doctrine and practice of the Church of England and declare themselves conscientiously to be outside her. Thus that great Christian teacher, Dr. Dale, said expressly, "I dissent from the Church of England," and then gave his reasons for doing so.[2]

Thus it is with organized Dissent that this chapter is concerned. The Lollards were Dissenters, but they were scarcely organized and, since heresy (by which term is meant the teaching which the Church of that time condemned) was regarded as a serious political danger, threatening the unity of the State and nation, any attempt at an understanding was scarcely to be dreamt of. Coercion was the order of the day. Individual bishops like Wolsey later, Bishop Stephen Gardiner, and even the unjustly abused Bishop Bonner, laboured hard sometimes with individuals to bring them back to the Church ; but until the idea of toleration in religion had won a real foot-

[1] Archdeacon Hutton, *op. cit.*

[2] *Life of R. W. Dale*, by his son, Sir A. W. W. Dale, p. 104. It is quoted by Archdeacon Hutton in his paper referred to above.

hold no scheme of reunion could have been imagined. The first regular English Dissenting chapels in England were built in the reign of King James II, i.e., between the years 1685 and 1688, yet organized Dissent had begun 100 years before under Queen Elizabeth.[1] The story is concerned at first with three groups: Independents, Baptists and Presbyterians.

The first separated body to come into notice is that of the Independents or Congregationalists. In 1568 a certain Richard Fitz had founded and ministered to "a privy Church" in London. He described his sect as "a poor congregation whom God hath separated from the Church of England."[2] His Church soon disappeared; but in 1572 a regular Presbyterian Church was founded at Wandsworth and was promptly suppressed. In 1580 Robert Browne, the true father of the English Congregationalists, founded a congregation at Norwich. Browne had a very varied career; in 1586 he was excommunicated by the Bishop of Peterborough, which had so great an effect upon him that he returned to the English Church, in which he ministered for the remaining forty-seven years of his life, until he

[1] Gairdner, *op. cit.*, iii, p. xxv.

[2] Dr. E. W. Watson in the *Dict. of Eng. Ch. Hist.*, *s.v.* "Nonconformity," p. 396.

died in prison at the end for assaulting a parish constable (who was also his godson) who had come to request payment of the rates.[1] Browne's followers did not return to the English Church with him, and the hand of the law lay heavy upon them, and for the most part they took refuge in Holland, where, to quote Dr. Watson, "they quarrelled much among themselves, and printed many books."[2] Under James I they began to form private congregations in England; one in South London, calling itself "the Church of the Pilgrim Fathers," has had a continuous existence since 1616. In the Westminster Assembly of Divines in 1645, convoked to draw up religious measures for England under Cromwell, there were but five Independents. They became extremely powerful later when Cromwell himself adhered to their cause. After the Restoration, when Congregationalist ministers were compelled either to relinquish their benefices or to receive episcopal ordination, and after the Toleration Act of 1692, the Independents lived peaceably enough. To the end of the eighteenth century, and even beyond it, the Congregationalists remained

[1] Art. "Robert Browne," by Dr. Jessopp, in *D.N.B.* iii, pp. 57–63.

[2] Art. in *Dict. of Eng. Ch. Hist.*, p. 397.

rigid in their Calvinism and in their orthodoxy as against the Socinianism of the day. This was to have an important bearing on their relations with the English Church.

The English Baptists practically began their career in 1608 in a division among the Separatists at Amsterdam. In 1611 they returned to England and spread rapidly in London, Leicestershire, and Kent. In 1654 they held their first General Assembly, which still continues as a small inner circle within the Unitarian body and "has the longest and most perfect series of records of any Nonconformist body in England." [1] These Baptists were later known as the General Baptists and were strongly anti-Calvinist. Their brethren and rivals, the Particular Baptists, came to London from Holland in 1616, and they were strict Calvinists. During the Civil War both bodies of Baptists increased considerably, and by 1660 it is estimated that there were 115 congregations of the General and 131 of the Particular Baptists.[2] After the Restoration the General Baptists declined, but the Particular Baptists throve, and they, too, formed a General

[1] Dr. Watson, *op. cit.*, p. 400.

[2] *Transactions of the Bapt. Hist. Soc.*, ii, 236, quoted by Dr. Watson in the article referred to.

Assembly, in 1689. The General Baptists became more and more Unitarian, until in 1770 the Christian and Orthodox members of their body seceded and founded the *New Connexion of the General Baptists.*

The third and most important group was that of the Presbyterians. A definitely Presbyterian congregation was established at Wandsworth in 1572 and was suppressed; a more far-reaching plan followed. The upholders of the Genevan system already ordained in the Church were organized into associations, and the Presbyterian scheme of government was to be introduced from within. The scheme was detected and frustrated by Bancroft from 1584 onwards. The Presbyterians remained in the English Church, conforming externally but retaining their principles: their day seemed to have come when in 1643 the Parliament appointed an Assembly of Divines to meet at Westminster to draw up a scheme for the settlement of religion. In this Assembly, though its members were mainly "elderly beneficed clergy, episcopally ordained under Elizabeth or James I,"[1] those in favour of Presbyterianism were in a majority, and the results of

[1] Dr. E. W. Watson in *Dict. of Eng. Ch. Hist.*, p. 392.

their deliberations were the Westminster Confession of Faith, a Longer and Shorter Catechism, and a Directory of Public Worship which replaced the Prayer Book. Presbyterianism became virtually "established," but it received a deep wound when, in 1653, Oliver Cromwell, as Lord Protector, issued an edict tolerating Independents, Baptists, and Churchmen so long as they did not use the Prayer Book, and this oddly anarchical system continued until the Restoration.

Roughly there were three groups of Dissenters from the English Church with whom the question of Reunion was at first concerned: they were the English Presbyterians, the Independents or Congregationalists, and the Baptists, divided sharply into two bodies, those called General, and those called Particular. They had triumphed over the English Church in 1645 when the Prayer Book had been abolished and the Bishops dispossessed, and for the next fifteen years many of them were put into English benefices. In 1660, at the Restoration, the attitude of the Church towards them was one of the serious problems which faced Charles II and his advisers. The Presbyterians had worked for the Restoration and they expected to be rewarded by some

scheme of Reunion which would enable them to remain within the English Church. The King, in his Declaration from Breda, had proclaimed "a liberty to tender consciences," and was anxious for, at any rate, a toleration of the various sects. For a year the position of the Presbyterians remained uncertain; then, in 1661, a Conference of twelve bishops and twelve Puritan divines, with nine assessors on either side, met at the Savoy Palace in London to discuss a revision of the Book of Common Prayer. Richard Baxter, the leader of the Presbyterian clergy, produced a new service book of the Genevan type, which he asked to be allowed as an alternative to the Prayer Book, and he requested that ministers not ordained by bishops should not be required to be reordained. These suggestions were refused by the Church, and ultimately, in 1662, the Church declined to recognize the orders conferred by Presbyterian and other ministers, and insisted on the need of episcopal ordination and the use of the Prayer Book. As a result the ministers who refused to conform to these terms left their livings on S. Bartholomew's Day, 1662: their number has been variously estimated as 1,800 or 2,000; but the matter of the numbers still needs research.

Meanwhile the House of Commons of the day was eager not for reunion but for coercion, and the result was two Acts passed in 1664 and 1665: the Conventicle Act, which forbade under severe penalties any meeting for worship other than that of the Church of England at which more than four persons, exclusive of the members of the family, were present; and the Five Mile Act, which imposed an oath on all the expelled ministers: if they refused it, they were forbidden to approach within five miles of any corporate town or borough, or of any parish in which they formerly taught: a measure directed primarily against the ejected Presbyterians. These Acts were political, not religious; acts of the State, not of the Church, but they show the temper of the time. Yet the Dissenters were a considerable body in the country, and consequently there was a party in politics, aided by some who were twenty years later called "Low Church" (they would be called Broad Church to-day), who desired to reunite the Presbyterians, at any rate, to the Church. In 1667 a scheme for the Comprehension of Presbyterians was put out, and such schemes were frequent during the reign of Charles II. In 1675 the Bishop of Hereford of the day, Dr. Croft, who had been

converted to Roman Catholicism as a young man, and had studied at the English College in Rome, but who had returned to the English Church, published a book, with the title of *The Naked Truth*, protesting against coercion of Dissenters and urging concessions.[1] The suggestion aroused a storm of controversy, one of the most zealous opponents being one who was later to change his mind and become a champion of the cause he now attacked: Gilbert Burnet, later Bishop of Salisbury. Burnet, in 1676, printed a *Modest Survey . . . of Naked Truth.* In 1682 Dr. Daniel Whitby, who later became a close friend of Burnet at Salisbury and presided over his Theological College there, published *The Protestant Reconciler*, in which he pleaded for further concessions. Dr. Whitby, an eccentric divine "whose only recreation was tobacco," came later to hold Unitarian opinions. One fact of this period deserves notice. The more Puritan bishops of the time, as Dr. Seth Ward, Bishop of Exeter and later of Salisbury, were most rigorous in practice with the Dissenters in their dioceses; while bishops of the school of

[1] For an account of the book see Dr. Mason, *The Church of England and Episcopacy*, p. 266 *seq.*

Juxon, Sanderson, and Sancroft were in practice mild and gentle.[1] Certainly on the face of things it might have seemed probable that those Churchmen who, like Cosin, Bishop of Durham, believed in the orders and sacraments of the foreign Protestants abroad, would have extended a similar view to Presbyterians in England, but throughout, as can be seen later in the case of Archbishop Wake, the very opposite was the case. The consistency or inconsistency of such an attitude is not now in question. The fact is that "some of those who most stoutly championed the validity of [Presbyterian] orders beyond the seas, sternly denied it here," and as Dr. Mason says of Cosin's own attitude, "Presbyterian orders might be all very well at Charenton, but they were quite a different thing near Durham." [2] Archbishop Sancroft himself was engaged upon a plan to reunite the separated bodies with the Church in 1687 and 1688. The details of it are obscure, but among those engaged in it were Dr. Sharp, afterwards Archbishop of York, and Dr. Patrick, later Bishop of Ely.[3]

[1] Cf. Dr. J. H. Overton, *Life in the Eng. Ch.*, 1660–1714, pp. 342–8.

[2] Dr. Mason, *op. cit.*, p. 487.

[3] The only authoritative statement as to this scheme

The brief reign of James II for a moment united Churchmen and Dissenters in a common resistance to his aims; and when the Prince of Orange had won the day and was seated on the throne, in 1689, it seemed as if some measure reuniting Church and Dissent might follow. Schemes of Comprehension again appeared: a Royal Commission was appointed (as in 1661) to revise the Prayer Book and make it acceptable to Dissenters, and thus bring about reunion or as the term was "comprehension."

Ten bishops and twenty other divines were appointed as Commissioners, but of them nine attended few or no sessions. The Commission met eighteen times in some six weeks, and Burnet, now Bishop of Salisbury, Tillotson, later to be Archbishop of Canterbury, Stillingfleet, Bishop of Worcester (who had as a young man, thirty years before, in 1659, published an *Irenicum* (2nd ed., 1662), suggesting the comprehension of Churchmen and Presbyterians), and Tenison, later to succeed Tillotson at Canterbury, were its leading members. The proposals of that

was made by Dr. Wake, then Bishop of Lincoln, in his speech at the trial of Dr. Sacheverell in 1710–11. See D'Oyly's *Life of Sancroft*, 2nd ed., 1840, pp. 196–199.

Committee were regarded as an attempt to Presbyterianize the Church, and as such they were never, not even formally, put before the Lower House of the Canterbury Convocation, because the feeling of that House was known to be so decidedly opposed to them.[1] Bishop Burnet himself declared later that this refusal of the Lower House to make alterations was to be attributed to the Providence of God, and that it prevented a schism which would have rent the Church in twain. And with regard to Burnet it should be said that, with all his desire to comprehend Dissenters, he was most active, as bishop, in winning them over to the Church, and he greatly lessened their influence, so he says, in the diocese of Salisbury. These schemes, it will have been noticed, concerned chiefly the Presbyterians, who were still of importance: even in Queen Anne's reign the number of Presbyterian Peers in the House of Lords was not much smaller, it has been suggested, than the number of Roman Catholic Peers now.[2] But

[1] There is an excellent account of the scheme in Hore's *Church in England from William III to Victoria*, i, pp. 61–82.

[2] Dr. E. W. Watson in *Dict. of Eng. Ch. Hist.*, p. 393.

in fact Presbyterianism in England was doomed. It was becoming gradually a number of detached congregations, and its principles required that it should be an organized and established national body. More than that, its essential Calvinism, which was modified after the Restoration, became more and more Unitarian till, by the end of the eighteenth century, the old chapel, i.e., the Presbyterian chapel of practically every town in England, had become Unitarian, and the descendants of the English Presbyterian body are now the hereditary Unitarians. The orthodox Presbyterians, as a rule, joined the Independents, and to-day the successors of the English Presbyterians, like the successors of the General Baptists, are the Unitarians.[1] It is noted by a learned writer, who dwells carefully on the efforts for reunion made by Archbishop Wake, that he made no proposals to the Dissenters in England "relative to an union," and he thinks that the spirit of the times and the situations of the contending parties offered little success to a scheme of that nature. Whether those reasons

[1] On this see an interesting and learned monograph by a Unitarian writer, the Rev. Walter Lloyd, *The Story of Protestant Dissent and English Unitarianism*, London, 1899.

are true wholly or in part is unimportant; the fact itself is the significant thing.[1]

Before this change had become complete, one last flicker of reunion with Presbyterians is seen in 1748, when Sir Thos. Gooch,[2] then Bishop of Norwich, a thoroughly Georgian divine, delivered a charge to his clergy in which he spoke harshly of the Dissenters, especially the Presbyterians, as being rebels (his allusion was to the Jacobite Lords executed for their share in the rising of 1745). It chanced that an eminent Presbyterian minister, Dr. Chandler, who ministered to a congregation at the Old Jewry, was among the listeners to the bishop, and he wrote, naturally, a letter of complaint.[3] The letter was received very handsomely, and when the bishop came to London Dr. Chandler made him a visit, in which there was much talk of a comprehension. A conference followed between Dr. Chand-

[1] Dr. Maclaine in *Mosheim's Eccles. Hist.* (ed. 1819), vi, p. 93.

[2] For Dr. Gooch see the art. in *D.N.B.*, viii, p. 109, and the *Memoirs of a Royal Chaplain*, 1729–1763, Lond., 1895.

[3] These facts are given in *Letters to and from Dr. Doddridge*, by Thos. Stedman. Shrewsbury, 1790, pp. 113, 114 and note.

ler and the Bishops of Norwich and Salisbury (Dr. T. Sherlock, brother-in-law of Dr. Gooch). Dr. Chandler observed that the Thirty-nine Articles must be expressed in Scripture words and the Athanasian Creed discarded. Both the bishops answered, "They wished they were rid of that Creed." They then raised the question of re-ordination, to which the Presbyterian replied, "None of us would renounce his present ordination; but if their lordships meant only to impose their hands upon us and by that rite recommend us to public service in their society or constitution, that perhaps might be submitted to." In this attempt Dr. Chandler next visited the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Herring, "a man of no great knowledge or abilities," but a thoroughgoing Whig politician. When the idea of a "comprehension" was mentioned the Archbishop replied, "A very good thing. He wished it with all his heart . . . and added that he was encouraged to hope that this was a proper time to make the attempt." The Archbishop added that the bench of Bishops seemed to be of his mind."[1]

Nothing came of it, for the Presbyterian ministers by no means liked the idea, and, says a cor-

[1] *Op. cit.* p, 115.

respondent of the eminent Presbyterian minister, Dr. Doddridge, some "seem mightily frightened at it . . . and cry out, 'We won't be comprehended; we won't be comprehended.' One would think, he says, they imagined it was like being electrified or inoculated for the smallpox."[1] Already the Unitarian leaven was at work and, as has been said above, by the end of the century the English Presbyterians had ceased to be, and had become either Unitarians or Independents. "The English Presbyterian Church of the present day is a Scottish colony organized in the nineteenth century, whose whole antecedents lie beyond the Border."[2]

These attempts at reunion concerned the now extinct English Presbyterians. By the Independents and by both groups of the Baptists they were not welcomed; for most of the Independents were opposed on principle to the connexion of the English Church with the State, while the Baptists showed no desire to come to an agreement with the Church, nor did that wonderful community the Society of Friends. Then in 1739 and 1740 a new factor came into the problem with the Evangelical Re-

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 115.
[2] Dr. E. W. Watson in *Dict. of Eng. Ch. Hist.*, p. 395.

vival, and the preaching of John and Charles Wesley and of George Whitfield. One effect of that great movement was to quicken into fresh life the Independent body. The Independents were still strictly Calvinist, and when Whitfield and Wesley separated on that question the Independents were keen on the side of Whitfield. The languishing cause of Independency was revived, and it owed a debt to the Evangelicals in the English Church who were Calvinists; and thus close ties were formed. Clergy like Venn of Huddersfield, Grimshaw of Haworth, Berridge of Everton, preached all over England, and when the official teaching in a parish where they had preached was unsympathetic they were at a loss to know how to keep their converts. As a rule the plan was to build a Congregationalist chapel, and in such chapels the use of the English Prayer Book was not uncommon, and Churchmen even went so far as to find funds for educating Congregational or rather undenominational ministers, "poor and pious men whose work should be essentially undenominational revivalism."[1] The close connexion of the two is seen in the elder Venn, who, on leaving Huddersfield, was dissatisfied with his successor, and

[1] Dr. E. W. Watson in *op. cit.* p. 398.

himself headed the subscription list for building a Dissenting chapel, which was to carry on his own teaching. But there was no formal proposal for reunion, and gradually the close relations between the Evangelical clergy and the Independent ministers ceased.

The Evangelical Revival quickened in turn the life of both bodies of Baptists, but in their case the doctrine of Baptism separated them off from the Anglican clergy and made such close relations as existed with Congregationalists impossible. As Calvinism decayed the questions between General and Particular Baptists disappeared, and in 1813 a Baptist Union was formed, designed to be comprehensive, and since 1891 their separate missionary societies were amalgamated into one.

The Methodist Revival starting within the English Church resulted in the formation of large groups standing outside it.

The preaching of Whitfield resulted, as has been said, in the quickening and increase of the Independent body. The preaching of the Wesleys led ultimately to the forming of some seven different religious bodies; those known as the Wesleyan Methodists, whose separation began practically in 1795; the Methodist New Con-

nexion, founded in 1796, in a revolt against the original society; the Primitive Methodists who seceded in 1812; the Bible Christians, a secession from the main body in 1815; the United Methodist Free Church, a very large secession from the original Methodists in 1857; and the Salvation Army, which began with a secession from the New Connexion in 1861. These bodies have to some extent reunited among themselves. In 1907 the New Connexion of 1796, the Bible Christians of 1815, and the United Free Methodists of 1857 joined to form what is called "The United Methodist Church."

After 1748, all through the Evangelical revival, there was no movement for reunion at home; and the question did not reappear until 1832, when Dr. Arnold, alarmed at the dangers which threatened the Church (in the days of the Reform Bill), proposed that all sects should be united with the Church by Act of Parliament, i.e., that all Christian bodies should be recognized as belonging to the National Church. This proposal (which was rather federation than reunion) was made in Dr. Arnold's pamphlet, *Principles of Church Reform*, and its author held that it was "comprehension without compromise." There is no doubt that the idea was suggested by exag-

gerated fears for the position of the Church of England. "Nothing can save the Church but a union with the Dissenters," Arnold wrote in January, 1833. The suggestion raised a storm of disapproval, partly no doubt because of the embittered political feelings of the time, for Churchmen were most of them Tories and the Dissenters Whigs.

The next steps towards what came to be called Home Reunion were taken by followers of the Oxford Movement. In 1869, at the Church Congress at Wolverhampton, a committee was appointed to form a Society for the Reunion of Christendom on the basis of the English Church. Its method was to win Dissenters by way of compromise. The Society was a complete failure and ended in 1878, when it was absorbed by the Home Reunion Society. This was begun by a devoted layman of the Church, William Thomas Mowbray, in 1873, and its constitution was finally settled in 1875, when Dr. Edward Harold Browne, Bishop of Winchester, became its president. The Society was pledged to support no scheme that could compromise the teaching of the three Creeds nor the episcopal constitution of the Church. It has done much by prayer, conferences and social intercourse to

bring about a better understanding; its first chairman and the most indefatigable worker in its cause was Horatio, third Earl Nelson.

A more formal and official step was taken when the subject was considered at the Lambeth Conferences since 1888; the Conference of that year laying down the four principles on which such reunion must proceed: a statement generally known as the Lambeth Quadrilateral. This laid down the necessary acceptance of:

(1) The Holy Scriptures as the Rule of Faith.
(2) The Apostles' and Nicene Creeds.
(3) The two Sacraments of the Gospel.
(4) The historic Episcopate.

The Conference of 1908, in its resolutions 75–78, conceived that under certain conditions "it might be possible to make an approach to reunion on the basis of consecrations to the episcopate on lines suggested by such precedents as those of 1610."

Individuals have gone further, but their actions have not been endorsed by the Church as a whole, and there has been a suggestion in some such individual efforts that the object arrived at has been less the reunion of Christians than a display against the principles of the Church

Revival of the nineteenth century. Such methods are merely exercises in controversy, as were some of the efforts to comprehend the Presbyterians in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: their true, though not their avowed object being to relax the formularies of the Church in a Unitarian direction. The increasing pressure of the difficulties caused by disunion in evangelizing the heathen led in 1913 to a Conference of some missionaries at Kikuyu in British East Africa. Various Protestant missionary societies were represented, and there were present also the Anglican Bishops of Uganda and Mombasa. The Conference proposed a scheme of federation by which (1) all recognized as Ministers in their own Churches should be welcomed to preach in the federated Churches; (2) the administration of Sacraments was to be normally by the recognized Minister of the Church which occupied the particular district; (3) a "full member" of any one of the federated Churches was to be admitted to Holy Communion in any one of the federated Churches.

These particular proposals, touching the very centre of the questions at issue between the English Church and the Reformed Churches abroad as well as the Protestant Dissenters at

home, naturally provoked a storm of discussion and controversy.[1] The suggested scheme treated the question of ordination by Bishops as an open question by its recognition on an equal footing of ministers who were not so ordained, and it implied that whether the Eucharist were administered by a priest or by a minister of a Protestant body was of equal validity. Unquestionably such a scheme went behind the "Lambeth

[1] No detailed history of the matter has yet been written, and the story is chiefly to be found in various pamphlets. Of these among the most important are *The Basis of Anglican Fellowship* by Bishop Gore; *The Kikuyu Conference* by J. J. Willis, Bishop of Uganda; *The Case against Kikuyu* by Frank Weston, D.D., Bishop of Zanzibar; *Kikuyu* by the Archbishop of Canterbury (which contains a useful bibliography of pamphlets, etc., on the subject laid before the Consultative Body of the Lambeth Conference in July, 1914); *The Kikuyu Opinion* by the Rev. N. P. Williams; and *Missionary Principles and the Primate on Kikuyu* by the Rev. L. Pullan. These last two are criticisms of the opinion formally given by the Archbishop of Canterbury in his pamphlet. A bitter and rather unbalanced reply to Bishop Gore's pamphlet was made by Professor Gwatkin in *The Bishop of Oxford's Open Letter*. The question raised led to the publication of the valuable and learned work by Dr. A. J. Mason, constantly referred to in these pages, *The Church of England and Episcopacy*, 1914. Mr. R. A. Knox's *Reunion all Round*, 1914, a witty and brilliant satire, was another pamphlet in the controversy.

Quadrilateral" of 1888, which insisted on the acceptance of the historic episcopate as a necessary basis of any scheme of reunion. The Bishop of Zanzibar, the Christians of whose diocese were bound to be affected by such a scheme, made a formal protest against it to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the result of much discussion was the summoning of the Consultative Committee of the Lambeth Conference to meet and discuss the question in July, 1914. That Committee recommended that so great a change as that proposed should not be made until the whole Anglican Communion had opportunity to consider it; while on specific points they agreed that the bishop of a diocese could invite or authorize any one to address the faithful in his care, but that the principle so admitted did not seem sufficiently safeguarded in the scheme. As to admission of communicants of other denominations to Holy Communion the Committee recognized that such a relaxation of "the undoubted rule of the Church" had been exercised by bishops "in view of special circumstances," and they held that it was a matter for "the administrative and pastoral discretion of the bishop." On the proposal that communicants of the English Church should be "encouraged or even

expected to communicate in non-episcopal churches," the Committee held such an arrangement as not consistent with the principles of the Church of England.[1] As to these conclusions it has been well pointed out that the Consultative Body, in their treatment of the historical precedents, overlooked the force of the theory of necessity which was formerly held in the case of the non-episcopal bodies abroad.[2] The Archbishop of Canterbury, in an opinion published at Easter, 1915, followed, broadly, the lines of the answers of the Consultative Body. The war, which began in August, 1914, put the question into the background; but in July, 1918, the Bishop of Zanzibar, Dr. Weston, himself attended a further Conference at Kikuyu and put before the Conference proposals for reunion which were not accepted. An Alliance between two Bishops (of Mombasa and Uganda) and other Protestant missions working in British East Africa was there signed, the Bishop of Zanzibar protesting.[3]

[1] The opinion of the Central Consultative Body is printed as Appendix B to the Archbishop of Canterbury's *Kikuyu*, pp. 42–47.

[2] See Dr. J. P. Whitney, *The Episcopate and the Reformation*, in this series, p. 142, note 1.

[3] An account of the Bishop of Zanzibar's proposals and of the Conference was published in *The Church Times*, December 5, 1918, p. 421.

The question of Home Reunion concerns very nearly our relations with the Established Church in Scotland. When the two kingdoms were ruled by the same monarch in 1603 there was a natural desire that the national Churches should be united. But the Established Church in Scotland had been reformed by John Knox strictly on Presbyterian lines, though since 1572 there had been titular bishops, who were in fact Presbyterian ministers. In 1610 James I (James VI in Scotland) induced three of these titular bishops to accept consecration *per saltum* (i.e., without previous ordination to the diaconate and the priesthood) to the episcopate at the hands of the English bishops.[1] The three bishops so consecrated returned to Scotland and consecrated the rest of their brethren. From that date until 1689 the Church in Scotland was in full communion with the Church in England. In 1689 the Presbyterian establishment was re-erected and those who adhered to the episcopal system were driven out. The expelled body retained the succession of bishops, and though wellnigh crushed under penal laws in the eighteenth century, the Episcopal Church in Scotland "length-

[1] On this see Dr. Mason, *The Church of England and Episcopacy*, pp. 70–72.

ened her cords and strengthened her stakes" in the nineteenth, and is in full communion with the Church of England. The Presbyterian Established Church ceased to be in communion with the Church of England after 1689. In 1843 a great rift occurred, when 470 of its ministers left it and founded the Free Church of Scotland. There was also the United Presbyterian Church, which was a union of earlier reunions. The last two bodies have united, and negotiations for reunion are proceeding between the united body and the Established Church, negotiations which are of good hope for all to whom the healing of religious differences is dear. Efforts to bring about reunion with the Presbyterians in Scotland were made by Dr. Charles Wordsworth, Bishop of S. Andrews from 1853 to 1892: his most important publication on the subject was a Letter to Archbishop Benson in 1888, entitled *Ecclesiastical Union between England and Scotland.* His proposals excited alarm among members of his own communion. His successor, Dr. George Howard Wilkinson, continued the work on lines more likely to be fruitful in result[1]: while the desire for reunion has become more

[1] The story of this work for reunion is fully told by Dr. A. J. Mason in his *Life of Bishop G. H. Wilkinson*, ii, pp. 364–405.

than ever evident through the work of the *Scottish Church Society*. But no formal proposals for reunion have been submitted on either side.

There have been other attempts at reunion during the past years. In 1903 the Presbyterian Church of Australia addressed a letter to the Anglican Union of Australia, asking for an effort to secure closer union. In 1906 and 1907 conferences were held and an agreement was reached on the questions at issue; and a means devised for dealing with the question of the episcopate. These efforts, however, were not endorsed by the Lambeth Conference of 1908. The question of Unity is thus forcing its claims upon the attention of Christian thinkers. The temper which rejoices, or even acquiesces, in division and makes no effort to break it down, is felt increasingly to be an unchristian temper. Increased means of communication, wider experience, better education, these are rapid solvents of old and tough prejudices. In the face of such a condition it is well for English Churchpeople to remember well the oft-quoted words of the French layman, Count Joseph de Maistre. "If ever," he said, "and everything invites to it, there should be a movement towards reunion among the Christian

bodies, it seems likely that the Church of England should be the one to give it impulse. Presbyterianism, as its French nature rendered probable, went to extremes. Between us and those who practise a worship which we think wanting in form and substance there is too wide an interval; we cannot understand one another. But the English Church which touches us with the one hand, touches with the other those with whom we have no point of contact." [1]

It is ours to do what we can in our lifetime, here in our place as English Churchmen, to bring about what no one doubts to be the known will of our Lord. And we shall do our share best by being true to the English Church, loyal to its positive orders. The member of the Church who lives up to the Prayer Book standard does most to promote the reunion of divided Christendom. For those who desire to join in prayer for this object a society, the Association for Promoting the Unity of Christendom, now nearly sixty years old, still exists. Bishop Westcott is credited with saying that "reunion, when it comes, will come from the circumference rather

[1] *Cons. sur la France*, ch. ii, p. 30; quoted by Abbey and Overton, *Eng. Church in the Eighteenth Century*, i, 355.

than from the centre."[1] "Reunion," it has been said, "will come, when it comes, piecemeal."[2] These are prophecies, and prophecies before the World War, and one effect of the war has been to make Englishmen better acquainted with Roman and Eastern Catholics. From such acquaintance will come, it may well be hoped, a new and better order. In the sphere of literature the publication of two such striking books as that by Canon Lacey on *Unity and Schism*,[3] and most recently that by the Rev. J. H. Shakespeare on *The Churches at the Cross Roads*,[4] is a great sign of hope: while the two Interim Reports of the Sub-Committees appointed by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York and by Representatives of the English Free Churches Commissions in connexion with the proposed World Conference on Faith and Order are perhaps more significant still.[5]

[1] Dr. Sanday, *The Primitive Church and Reunion*, p. 16, Oxford, 1913,

[2] By Dr. Sanday in his interesting series of Studies, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

[3] London, 1917. They were the *Bishop Paddock Lectures* delivered at the General Theological Seminary, New York, in 1917.

[4] London, 1918.

[5] The Reports are dated February, 1916, and March, 1918, respectively, and are published at 2*d.* and 1½*d.* each, by Mr. Milford, at the Oxford University Press.

It is ours to hasten the work by understanding clearly, first of all, our own position and place as English Churchmen, and by living up to it, and then to reaching out to try to understand also the position of those from whom to-day we are separated. After so many years of misunderstanding, of prejudice, of dislike, and of ignorance, the process of reunion must almost inevitably be slow; but if anywhere it is permissible to apply the words of an Old Testament prophet to our own circumstances, it is surely permissible here: "For the vision is yet for the appointed time, and it hasteth toward the end, and shall not lie: though it tarry, wait for it; because it will surely come, it will not delay." [1]

[1] Habakkuk ii. 3.

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